

For Jim Keenan



Occasionally over the past five years or so – by way of testing the waters – I have joked with Jim Keenan about a *Festschrift*. It was clear from the outset that my mentor, with characteristic modesty, was at best ambivalent about such publications, and then there was the issue of quality: he would remind me how much scholarly dreck had ended up in *Festschriften*. Nevertheless, in spite of Jim's lukewarm responses, I decided in the end to "follow my gut." My respect for the man is great, but my affection for him (to say nothing of my debt to him) is greater.

I did, however, want to do some things differently. Most *Festschriften* are ragbags; they lack unity because the interests of the honorand's friends and colleagues are necessarily diverse. I desired – and thought Jim would better appreciate – a work that was more coherent. To help achieve this end, it was decided to limit the chronological scope of the contributions: though Jim's scholarship has extended into the Roman and Ptolemaic periods, it is the study of late antique Egypt, a focus of his research long before it was fashionable,

upon which he has made the greatest impact. My hope is that this volume will serve as a snapshot of the field forty years after Jim submitted his groundbreaking Yale doctoral thesis on the status designations Flavius and Aurelius; that it will demonstrate to its readers some of Jim's influence on those who have followed in his footsteps; but also that it will have a bearing on future research. Jim cares deeply about succeeding generations – how many students from outside Loyola has he “adopted”? – while so much of his own research reveals a scholar straining to see beyond the horizon.

Terry Wilfong (like myself, a papyrology “orphan” from the University of Chicago) and Traianos Gagos suggested that I consider assembling the contributions in a special number of this journal; it would be most appropriate, they noted, given Jim's steady editorial hand at the *Bulletin* between 1983 and 1995. I agreed that this was a very good idea – not only to honor Jim's lengthy service but also because *BASP* is refereed (which would help address the dreck concern). I am grateful to Peter van Minnen, *BASP*'s current editor, for opening the journal to this project and, especially, for his generous and patient assistance with the manuscripts. I must also thank Tim Renner and John Whitehorne, *BASP*'s other editors, and Donald Mastronarde, Nick Gonis, Brendan Haug, Laurie Haight-Keenan, Joe Manning, and Katy McNamee for their help with various aspects of this undertaking. Finally, I am indebted to the contributors for their time and effort on behalf of a dear teacher and friend – a colleague whose future research all of us await eagerly.

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Panettieri, prestiti e Apioni

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Abstract

This paper offers new readings in three contracts from Byzantine Oxyrhynchus (*P.Münch.* 3.98; *P.Amh.* 2.150; *PSI* 3.239), all of which concern bakers loaning money or making advanced payments to workers living on the Apion estate. The texts shed light on the socio-economic situation of bakers and the circulation of money within great estates in Late Antiquity.

Tra la fine del VI e l'inizio del VII sec. d.C. sono stati redatti in Oxyrhynchites tre contratti di versamento di denaro a vario titolo, che presentano alcuni punti in comune.

In *P.Münch.* 3.98 (593/4) un certo Aurelios Apollos, originario dell'*epoikion* Pekty¹ (rr. 7–11 con *BL* 9:172: Αὐρήλιος Ἀ[πολλῶς υἱὸς] | Ἰωάννου [μητρὸς] | Σιβέλλης ὁ[ρμώμενος] | ἀπὸ ἐποικ[ί]οϋ Π[εκτὺ τοῦ] | Ὀξυρυγχίτου νομ[οῦ]), certifica al panettiere (μυλοκλιβανεύς; cfr. *ibid.*, comm. a r. 13)² Aurelios Abraammios, figlio di Senuthios, proveniente dalla città di Oxyrhynchos (rr. 12–15: Αὐρηλίῳ Ἀβρααμμ[ί]ῳ | μυλοκλιβανῇ (l. μυλοκλιβανεῖ) υἱῷ | Σενουθίου ἀπὸ τῆς | Ὀξυρ<υ>γχιτῶν πόλεως) di aver da lui ricevuto in prestito la somma di 2 *nomismata* d'oro e 4 *keratia*.

Un riesame del testo permette una piccola precisazione di lettura riguardo al verso del documento. Il rigo in esso contenuto inizierebbe, secondo l'*ed. pr.*, con il genitivo del debitore: [Αὐρ(ηλίου) Ἀ]πολλῶ. Sulla base tuttavia del confronto con altri contratti di prestito di denaro, nei quali a questo punto del

¹ Cfr. su questo *epoikion*, che si trovava nel I pago, nella parte meridionale del nomo, da ultimo *P.Oxy.* 68.4677.6 (26 sett. 408) con comm. (la definizione di κῶμη nell'indice del volume [p. 179] è una svista) e più avanti con n. 5.

² Per μυλοκλιβανεύς cfr. E. Battaglia, "Artos:" *Il lessico della panificazione nei papiri greci*, (Milano 1989) 193; inoltre *ibid.*, 146-150 (κλίβανος); 150-151 (κλιβανεῖον/κλιβάνιον); 188 (κλιβανεύς). Sull'equivalenza tra il mestiere di mugnaio e quello di panettiere, cfr. F. Reiter, *Die Nomarchen des Arsinoites. Ein Beitrag zum Steuerwesen im römischen Ägypten* (Köln 2004) 165, con n. 2.

testo si trova il nominativo del tipo di contratto (cfr. p.es. *P.Oxy.* 58.3942.37 [22 febr. 606]: γραμματεῖον Παμουθίου), e dal momento che nel papiro di Monaco il documento è definito γραμματεῖον al r. 28 (γραμμα(τεῖον)) e al r. 32 (γραμματεῖον)), è probabile che all'inizio della lacuna sul verso si debba integrare proprio questa parola, verosimilmente abbreviata.

In *P.Amh.* 2.150, risalente a ca. un anno prima del papiro di Monaco (20 ottobre 592), un Aurelios Abraamios, figlio di Senuthios e proveniente dalla città di Oxyrhynchos, paga 2 *nomismata* d'oro come prezzo anticipato su 50 carichi di fieno che un gruppo di persone, tra le quali un Phoibammon amministratore (*phrontistes*) e un Phoibammon guardia campestre (*agrophylax*), provenienti dall'*epoikion* Sophrosyne,³ gli consegnerà l'anno successivo, nel mese di Pharmouthi (rr. 15–16 con *BL* 1:5) Αὐρη[λίω Ἀβρα]αμίω μυλο[κόπῳ υἱῶ] | Σενο[υθίου] ἀπὸ τῆς Ὀξυρυ[χίτ]ων πόλε[ως]. Poiché è molto probabile che si tratti della stessa persona menzionata in *P.Münch.* 3.98,⁴ al posto di μυλο[κόπῳ υἱῶ] al r. 15 dovrà integrarsi piuttosto μυλο[κλιβανεῖ υἱῶ]: tra l'altro, il numero delle lettere del rigo così ricostruito (30) risulta più vicino a quello riscontrabile nei righi immediatamente precedente e seguente (29 lettere al r. 14; 32 al r. 16) di quanto non fosse nel caso dell'integrazione fino ad ora accolta (26 lettere).

È possibile ancora una precisazione di lettura: sulla base di quanto detto sopra a proposito dell'indicazione contenuta sul verso di simili contratti e dal momento che il documento viene definito γραμματεῖον al r. 32 (γραμματίον) e al r. 37 (γραμμ(ατεῖον)), è possibile che sul verso al r. 44 le tracce trascritte come . ρ() debbano leggersi appunto come γραμματεῖον, preceduto, nella lacuna precedente, forse solo da una croce (cfr. p.es. al r. 34). Se così fosse, apparirebbe eccessiva la stima, fatta nella prima edizione, di 15 lettere mancanti nella lacuna all'inizio del rigo successivo, dal momento che questa sembra iniziare appena più a destra del ρ di γραμματεῖον). Del resto, anche dal punto di vista contenutistico, non appare necessario ipotizzare la caduta di molte lettere tra i due rigi del verso. Alla fine del r. 44, infatti, si trova l'ultimo nome del gruppo di contraenti, e la parte iniziale del r. 45 contiene la menzione del loro *epoikion* di provenienza: Φοιβάμμωνος πρωτ() | [15 lettere] . κ . . . [ἐπ]οικ(ίον) Σωφροσύνης. È dunque probabile che le tracce alla fine del r. 44 e all'inizio del r. 45 debbano essere lette diversamente. La mancanza di un'immagine del verso rende tuttavia qualsiasi proposta di ricostruzione dei rigi (πάντ(ων) oppure τῶν | ἀπὸ τοῦ (?) oppure, per differenziare il secondo Phoibammon, ἀγροφ(ύλακος) | τῶν ἀπὸ (?), cfr. ai rr. 13–14: [ο]ἱ π[ά]ντες ὅρμ[ι]ώμενοι ἀπὸ

³ Sulla localizzazione di questo *epoikion* cfr. più avanti.

⁴ Sulle grafie alternative Abraamios (*P.Amh.* 2.150) e Abraammios (*P.Münch.* 3.98), cfr. Gignac, *Gram.* 1:157–158.

ἐπ[οικίου] | Σωφρ[οσύνης] e *P.Oxy.* 16.1896 verso, 27 [17 maggio 577]: γρ(αμματεῖον) τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ κτήμ(ατος) Λέοντος) una mera ipotesi.

Oltre a condividere il nome del creditore/acquirente e l'oggetto della transazione (versamento di denaro a vario titolo), i due papiri sopra discussi presentano un ulteriore punto in comune. In entrambi i casi coloro che ricevono il denaro provengono da *epoikia* ossirinchi nei quali la ben nota famiglia degli Apioni aveva interessi economici: in *P.Münch.* 3.98 il debitore viene da Pekty (rr. 9–11 e verso; cfr. sopra); in *P.Amh.* 2.150 a ricevere il denaro sono abitanti di Sophrosyne (rr. 13–14 e verso, r. 45; cfr. sopra). Entrambi gli *epoikia* compaiono nelle voci di bilancio registrate dagli amministratori della proprietà apionica nei loro rendiconti; cfr. le occorrenze citate da Mazza.⁵ Dal momento che Pekty e Sophrosyne vengono menzionati pressoché all'interno degli stessi testi e inoltre alcuni dei loro abitanti coltivavano terre appartenenti all'*epoikion* Lukiu (cfr. Mazza [n. 5] 89–90 con n. 73), è probabile che essi non distassero molto l'uno dall'altro (cfr. anche sopra, n. 1).

Sempre dall'*epoikion* Pekty proviene infine Aurelia Tabes, che, secondo il contratto *PSI* 3.239 (9 febr. 601 con *BL* 8:396), riceve un anticipo di 2 *nomismata* da un certo Aurelios Philoxenos figlio di Papnuthios, proveniente dalla città di Oxyrhynchos: (rr. 10–13) Αὐρηλίω | Φιλοξένω εριβ . . εἰ (?) | νῖϖ Παπνουθίου ἀπὸ τῆς | Ὀξυρυγχ(ιτῶν) πόλ(εως).

L'indicazione della professione di Philoxenos alla fine del r. 11 si nasconde in tracce di difficile decifrazione. Poiché la lettura proposta nella prima edizione non sembra dar senso in questo contesto, una sua revisione sulla base della foto potrebbe portare qualche progresso.⁶ In particolare il presunto ε ad inizio di parola si presenta costituito da un tratto verticale discendente verso la base del rigo e che risale poi verso destra in alto in senso obliquo per poi ridiscendere e unirsi al successivo ρ: non sembra quindi plausibile che si tratti di ε, dal momento che questa lettera è di solito tracciata in due tempi e presenta normalmente una base concava che poggia sul rigo. La forma delle tracce potrebbe, a prima vista, corrispondere invece ad un τ; cfr. p.es. al r. 1: ἐν ὀνόματι. La presunta legatura con il successivo ρ non supporta tuttavia questa ipotesi, dal momento che non si spiegherebbe il motivo per cui lo scriba avrebbe prolungato il τ così in alto invece di legarlo immediatamente alla testa del ρ, come avviene p.es. in τρίτον al r. 27. Del resto una lettura τριβ condurrebbe

⁵ R. Mazza, *L'archivio degli Apioni. Terra, lavoro e proprietà senatoria nell'Egitto tardoantico* (Bari 2001) 184 e 185. Ai papiri apionici che menzionano Pekty si aggiunga anche *P.Oxy.* 19.2243a.32 (28 ott. – 26 nov. 590), dove il toponimo compare nella grafia Πέκτη

⁶ L'immagine è pubblicata in *PLaur.* 3, Tav. 91, e in R. Pintaudi, *Papiri greci e latini a Firenze, secoli III a.C. – VIII d.C.* (Firenze 1983) Tav. 54.

necessariamente a ricostruire il titolo $\tau\rho\iota\beta\omicron\upsilon\gamma\gamma\omega$, che risulta insoddisfacente sia dal punto di vista paleografico (specie in corrispondenza del presunto ω , che si presenta piuttosto come ϵ ; cfr. già la trascrizione dell'*ed.pr.*) che da quello contenutistico: sembra infatti poco plausibile che un $\tau\rho\iota\beta\omicron\upsilon\nu\omicron\varsigma$ all'inizio del VII sec. porti il semplice gentilizio Αὐρήλιος (r. 10) e non invece quello più elevato di Flavios; cfr. p.es. *P.Oxy.* 16.1960.3 (17 agosto 511): $\Phi\lambda\alpha\omicron\nu\iota\omega$ $\text{Ἀφροῦτι τῷ λαμπροτάτῳ τριβούνῳ}$. È possibile tuttavia un'altra soluzione. Le tracce iniziali potrebbero infatti corrispondere ad un κ . Questa lettera consiste normalmente in una verticale dalla cui estremità inferiore procede un tratto obliquo; da quest'ultimo lo scriba ridiscende con il calamo, ricalcando in parte la precedente linea obliqua, per legarsi immediatamente alla lettera successiva, cfr. p.es., in *PSI* 3.239, al r. 3: $\kappa\alpha\iota$. Nel punto in questione, sarebbe dunque possibile pensare che il tratto discendente dalla linea obliqua corrisponda alla linea di ridiscesa del calamo, riuscita particolarmente distante dal tratto obliquo precedente; cfr. p.es. in *P.Oxy.* 58.3952, risalente a pochi anni dopo il nostro testo (prima del 29 agosto 610), il κ di $\kappa\alpha\iota$ alla fine del primo rigo.⁷ Per la legatura immediata tra il tratto discendente del κ e la testa del ρ , senza cioè che lo scriba giunga fino al rigo di base e poi risalga, cfr. p.es. *PSI* 1.62.24 ($\alpha\pi\omicron\kappa\rho\iota\nu\alpha\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$),⁸ anch'esso quasi contemporaneo (27 sett. 613 con *BL* 1:390) a *PSI* 3.239. Se quanto proposto fosse esatto, al r. 11 del nostro testo si potrebbe proporre la lettura $\kappa\rho\iota\beta\alpha\gamma\epsilon\iota$:⁹ la professione di colui che dà il denaro, Aurelios Philoxenos, sarebbe, allora, come in *P.Münch.* 3.98 e in *P.Amh.* 2.150, quella di "panettiere"!

A ben guardare, i contratti di versamento di denaro a vario titolo, nei quali ($\mu\upsilon\lambda\omicron$) $\kappa\lambda\iota\beta\alpha\nu\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ figurano in qualità di creditori/acquirenti, costituiscono un numero significativo e provengono tutti dall'Oxyrhynchites. Oltre ai papiri qui discussi, infatti, appartengono a questa tipologia anche altri tre testi. Si tratta anzitutto di *P.Princ.* 3.154 (7 sett. 546 con *BL* 7:169 e 8:285), un contratto di pagamento anticipato per prestazioni professionali accordato ad un trasportatore di concime dal panettiere ($\kappa\rho\iota\beta\alpha\nu\epsilon\upsilon\varsigma$) Praus (cfr. *BL* 9:221).

A questo testo sono poi da aggiungere altri due papiri, nei quali il ruolo di creditore/acquirente esercitato dal "panettiere" non è stato finora riconosciuto. Il primo di essi è *P.Köln* 5.235 (26 maggio 496), una ricevuta relativa alla rata

⁷ Foto on line: <http://163.1.169.40/gsd/collect/POxy/index/assoc/HASHf52f.dir/POxy.v0058.n3952.a.01.lores.jpg>.

⁸ L'immagine è pubblicata in: Pinaud (n. 6) Tav. 56.

⁹ La stessa grafia – con ρ invece che con λ – ricorre anche in *P.Princ.* 3.154 e *P.Köln* 5.235, sui quali si veda più avanti. Sull'incertezza riguardo all'etimologia del termine cfr. P. Chantraine, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque* (Paris 1968–1980) 2:582–583, s.v. $\kappa\rho\iota\beta\alpha\nu\epsilon\upsilon\varsigma$. In generale, per lo scambio λ/ρ , cfr. Gignac, *Gram.* 1:103.

di un prestito di 3 *nomismata*, rilasciata da una persona di nome Eustathias al panettiere (κριβανεύς, *l. κλιβανεύς*) Ioseph: contrariamente all'interpretazione dell'*ed.pr.*, mi sembra infatti che Ioseph non sia il debitore che restituisce parte della somma ricevuta ad Eustathias, ma piuttosto il creditore che versa a quest'ultimo parte del prestito pattuito. In tal modo si spiegherebbe l'uso del verbo ἔχω, anomalo in riferimento ad una restituzione di denaro (nel qual caso si preferirebbe ἀπέχω; cfr. già l'*ed.pr.*, introd. e comm. a r. 3), normale invece in quello della riscossione di una somma presa in prestito (cfr. p.es. *P.Münch.* 3.98.16: ὁμολογῶ ἐσχηκέναι).

L'altro papiro da aggiungere con molta probabilità al gruppo è *PSI* 10.1122¹⁰ (VII sec. [?]),¹¹ la cui parte iniziale è perduta. Il beneficiario del versamento, 2 *nomismata* ricevuti come anticipo sulla vendita di una certa quantità di vino, menziona infatti, al r. 22, la "panetteria" (κλιβανεῖον) dell'acquirente.

Se le proposte sopra avanzate sono esatte, emerge dai contratti come i panettieri ad Oxyrhynchos in età bizantina godessero di una favorevole posizione economica: essi disponevano di denaro liquido e lo versavano ad altri lavoratori a vario titolo. I contratti stipulati tra lavoratori provenienti da *epoikia* apionici e panettieri cittadini confermano poi ancora una volta la vivacità di scambi monetari che caratterizza l'economia della grande proprietà dell'Egitto bizantino.¹²

¹⁰ Cfr. per la provenienza Z.M. Packman, "Notes on Papyrus Texts with the Roman Imperial Oath," *ZPE* 89 (1991) 98.

¹¹ Cfr. N. Gonis, "Seventh-Century Oxyrhynchite Documents in the Beinecke Library," *ZPE* 153 (2005) 171.

¹² Cfr., nella stessa direzione, le conclusioni di Mazza (n. 5) 163 con n. 11.

SB 6.9025, Cotton, and the Economy of the Small Oasis

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Abstract

SB 6.9025 is restudied in light of the much larger amount of information now available for cotton cultivation in the oases of the Western Desert of Egypt. The goods to be sent by the writer are shown to be those characteristically produced in the oases and shipped to the Valley, and it is argued that the place of writing is probably the Small Oasis.

Of all active papyrologists, Jim Keenan is the one I have known the longest; he entered graduate school at Yale in 1965, the fall of my sophomore year. He has also been one of the most consistently stimulating of friends and colleagues, with an enviable range of reading and a serious interest in how Egypt has changed over the post-classical centuries. I hope that some reflections on the ancient background of one of modern Egypt's most important crops will interest him.

More than sixty years ago – in the year of Jim Keenan's birth, in fact – J.G. Winter and H.C. Youtie published an article called "Cotton in Graeco-Roman Egypt."¹ The article presents two private letters of the second century from the Michigan papyrus collection, both of unknown provenance. The editors chose these papyri because both refer to ἐρεόζυλον, cotton. Of these, the second, although of interest in various ways, merely expresses a wish for 20 drachmas' worth of good cotton thread with which the author, Areskoussa, can make new garments. Nothing in it helps explain the context in which the author, a woman, was writing.² Because most surviving private letters on papyrus of

¹ *AJP* 65 (1944) 249-258. It is reprinted in Youtie's *Scriptiunculae Posteriores*, vol. 2 (Bonn 1982) 665-674.

² P.Mich. inv. 1648; the text is reprinted as SB 6.9026 and included in R.S. Bagnall and R. Cribiore, *Women's Letters from Ancient Egypt, 300 BC – AD 800* (Ann Arbor 2006) 356-357, where it is described as "well written in every respect."

the second century, apart from the Apollonios archive (from Hermopolis), derive from the Oxyrhynchite and the Arsinoite nomes, there is a certain *a priori* probability that this letter comes from one of those nomes, but I do not see any specific information in the letter to confirm any specific provenance; the editors tell us only that it was acquired by purchase (in 1924, according to the *APIS* record).

In the case of the other letter, inv. 3630, later reprinted as *SB* 6.9025, the editors remark that “[i]ts provenance is unknown, but the mention of Ψῶβθις in line 32 would suggest the Oxyrhynchite nome” (p. 251).³ Oxyrhynchite villages called Psobthis appear in four different toparchies,⁴ but even so they are not the only possibility here. Guy Wagner remarks, “Le toponyme Psôbthis désignerait ... la métropole de la Petite Oasis. L’expéditeur doit se trouver là-bas, car il reçoit des céréales et du poisson tandis qu’il envoie des dattes et du vin, produits bien connus de la Petite Oasis.”⁵ He goes on (rather contradicting an earlier proposal in this same work) to suggest that the sender may be identified with Herakles son of Akous and Diogenis (also in *P.Oxy.* 40.2975). Of course, if the Psobthis in question is the metropolis of the Small Oasis, a view that I shall support, it is still very likely that the papyrus itself was found in Oxyrhynchus, its most probable destination.

Wagner showed some hesitation in identifying the Small Oasis as the origin of the letter principally because there was no other evidence for the production of cotton in that oasis.⁶ But he raised the question in the context of pointing out (pp. 291-292) the fact that cotton is attested in the Great Oasis, both at Kysis and at Kellis. Since he wrote, the evidence from Kellis has grown and been more fully published, and botanical evidence of *Gossypium*, cotton, although not precisely attributable to a variety, has been found at Kellis.⁷ In addition, a couple of ostraka from Trimithis (modern Amheida) have been found with amounts measured in *lith*() that clearly refer to cotton as well.⁸

³ The *APIS* record shows that it was purchased from M. Nahman in 1925.

⁴ See P. Pruneti, *I centri abitati dell'Ossirinichite* (Florence 1981) 223-226.

⁵ G. Wagner, *Les oasis d'Égypte* (Cairo 1987) 292-293, n. 9.

⁶ It is curious that on p. 291 he refers to the article of Winter and Youtie as publishing “deux lettres privées dont l’une au moins pourrait venir d’Oxyrhynchus.” The conditional could simply mean that he was attributing this view to the editors, but he does not make a connection to his own argument two pages later.

⁷ See *P.Kellis* 4, pp. 39-40, discussing the payments found in the Kellis Agricultural Account Book and making the point that cotton’s growth pattern (in the summer, irrigated) makes it suitable for the oases (but not the Nile Valley in antiquity). The two ostraka cited there have now been published as *O.Kellis* 68 and 69, with substantial quantities – payments of 20, 12, 12, 12, and 20 *lith*(), on which see further below.

⁸ *O.Trimithis* 1.38, 44, forthcoming.

This evidence, or as much as was available to him, led Wagner to criticize M. Hombert for seeing in *P.Iand.* 7.142 a proof that cotton was cultivated in Upper Egypt during this period.⁹ It was not “Upper Egypt,” but the Great Oasis, that is at stake in that papyrus. Actually, Hombert was not expressing his own view, only summarizing the statement of Winter and Youtie (p. 250), “This [an entry in the Janda papyrus] proves the cultivation of cotton in Upper Egypt in the second century and confirms the statement of Pliny, *NH* 19.14: *superior pars Aegypti in Arabiam vergens gignit fruticem quam aliqui gossypion vocant, plures xylon et ideo lina inde facta xylina.*” Wagner (p. 292) notes that this is surely an error of Pliny’s, since it is the Western rather than Eastern Desert that has produced evidence of cotton cultivation.

It is hard to see why he goes on to say that “cela confirmerait l’idée que le coton était largement répandu dans l’Egypte des II^e/III^e s., et que c’était un produit local et non importé.” It is in fact far from proving anything of the kind. Before looking in more depth at the Michigan papyrus, it is worthwhile devoting a brief review to the other papyrological evidence for cotton to see just what we can tell about its appearance in Egypt. This turns out to be remarkably little – far from “widespread.”¹⁰ Winter and Youtie mention *P.Lond.* 3.928 (p. 190), a list in which cotton is mentioned, which they described as a “customs schedule.” That identification is treated with skepticism by P.J. Sijpesteijn in his book on customs,¹¹ but in any case the fragmentary context can tell us nothing about the provenance of either the papyrus or the cotton, nor is there any external evidence for this point.

As with the letter of Areskousa published by Winter and Youtie, so also in *P.Oxy.* 59.3991, another letter by a woman (second/third century): “Your mother made for you the cotton tunic.”¹² We know only the findspot, but the letter itself could have been written in any location in communication with Oxyrhynchos. The context of the mention of cotton goods in *P.Mich.* 8.500.7 is not informative either; Ioannidou remarks that “the restoration of the follow-

⁹ He is referring to Hombert’s review of Winter and Youtie’s article in *CE* 23 (1948) 204-206. This papyrus in Giessen dates to 164/5 and appears to concern land in Kysis (Douch). The cotton in this case (col. 2.8) was grown on a parcel otherwise occupied with fruit trees. This papyrus, which would be worth further study, was bought in 1912 in a village by the Giza pyramids, at the valley end of the modern road to the Small Oasis.

¹⁰ “The new reference here does not change the impression that cotton was comparatively rare,” says H.G. Ioannidou, *P.Oxy.* 59.3991.14n., after citing Wagner.

¹¹ *P.Customs*, p. 25, n. 58; Sijpesteijn seems more inclined to accept the editors’ characterization of it as “an account of miscellaneous expenses.”

¹² Bagnall and Cribiore (n. 2) 355-356.

ing sentence to imply that the cotton goods were to be sent from Rome does not convince.”¹³ The text comes from the archive of Iulius Sabinus and Iulius Apollinarius, the latter of whom is the addressee here. We cannot tell where Apollinarius was at this moment, nor where the author of the letter, a certain Rullius, was located (the place where he first asked for cotton, as he says). The archive was certainly found at Karanis.

There is thus no evidence from the Nile Valley that suggests the growing of cotton or the production of cotton thread or cloth there. There are occasional indications that cotton was available in the Valley. That does not mean that we must suppose the cotton to have been imported from India (cf. *P.Oxy.* 59.3991.14n., citing bibliography in favor of this position but not adopting it). But the sum total of *P.Lond.* 3.928, *SB* 6.9025, *P.Mich.* 8.500, and *P.Oxy.* 59.3991 gives us at best a sense that in the Oxyrhynchite and Arsinoite cotton was sometimes available.

By contrast, it is in the documents from the Kharga and Dakhla Oases, and only in them, that we find amounts of cotton listed in a fashion that indicates local production. These include three ostraka from Douch. *O.Douch* 1.51 is an account of amounts of cotton measured in λιθ(), which is the measure always found in the oasis texts. All of the names are those of women, and the amounts listed are 1 or 2 *lith*(). Wagner in his commentary remarks that the women “sont à n'en pas douter des fileuses de coton, métier que les sources ne mentionnent pas encore.” At this point it seemed uncertain whether λιθ() should be seen as a misspelling for λίτ(ρα), but in *Les oasis* (p. 292, n. 5) Wagner thought not: “La lecture λίτ(ρα) pour λιθ() fait difficulté. Ne faudrait-il pas plutôt penser à λίθοι, les poids spéciaux nécessaires à la stabilité du métier?” Whether these weights were the origin of the measure is hard to say, but the appearance of many texts since 1987 has shown that Wagner was right not to “correct” the reading to the Roman pound. In editing the Kellis Agricultural Account Book, I reviewed the matter in detail and concluded that “stone” was indeed the meaning intended, citing a Coptic parallel. I proposed that the “stone” weighed more than ten *litrai*.¹⁴ The tenants recorded in this text paid 1.75 and 3.5 *lith*(), respectively, per indiction in rent.

Cotton has subsequently appeared in the Kellis ostraka already mentioned, and in *O.Douch* 4.381, an order to deliver 3.5 *li(th-)* of cotton, described as a payment of *annona*. Wagner’s note on the passage cites mention of occasional finds of cotton in the necropolis of Douch.¹⁵ Volume five of *O.Douch* brought

¹³ *P.Oxy.* 59.3991.14n.

¹⁴ *P.Kell.* 4, pp. 50-51.

¹⁵ F. Dunand et al., *La nécropole de Douch*, vol. 1 (Cairo 1992) 232. To be precise, that passage reports that cotton appears only as sewing thread. This is of course a purely

two further pieces of evidence: nos. 537, an account mentioning 6 and 1 *lith*() of cotton; and 634, an order to furnish 1.5 λίθιν of cotton. In the note, Wagner remarks, “C’est la seule fois que la mesure cotonnière est écrite en toutes lettres: ce serait donc le *lithion*, diminutif rarissime de *lithos* (LSJ 1048, s.v.), clairement une unité pondérale standard, et non une mesure volumétrique.” Regrettably, there is no plate to allow the reader to check this proposed text, of which every letter is dotted, and to verify whether the reading of the second *iota* is in fact compelling.

Finally, the forthcoming *O.Trimithis* 1.38 and 44, mentioned already above, offer two more indications of *lith*(), with substantial amounts (up to more than 26 *lith*()). Perhaps most importantly, their use of fractions makes it possible to demonstrate that the *lith*() was indeed at least ten Roman pounds, because the fractions are based on a system of units requiring a common denominator of 2,880, or ten times the number of grams in the Roman pound. That would make the *lith*() at a minimum about 3.23 kg of cotton, and one of the Trimithis ostraka would deal with a total of more than 200 kg of cotton – a very large amount of cotton, when considered in terms of volume.

There is a great deal to be said about the introduction of cotton into Egypt and the potential economic impact on the oasis economy of large-scale production of the crop. For the present, however, my purpose is to look more closely at SB 9026 and to try to understand it as a document. For that purpose, we will need to reproduce the text, with a few suggested changes, and a revised version of Winter and Youtie’s translation.

Ἡρακλείδης Ὡρίωνι τῷ φιλτάτῳ
χαίρειν.

- οἱ πέμποντες πάντες ἐπι[σ]τολὰς περὶ τῶν
4 καμήλων πέμπουν. ἐπέσχα τοὺς [μ]ετὰ
τῶν καμήλων. μετὰ τὸ γὰρ γεμίσαι ἡμᾶς
τοὺς καμήλους ὁστών, τότε ἠνέχ[θ]η ἡ ἐπι-
στολή. ἐ[δ]υνάμην γὰρ ἀγοράσσειν π . . . α . λα .¹⁶
8 τοῦ μετρητοῦ (δραχμῶν) ριβ. καὶ γὰρ ξένοι ἐλήλυθαν
ζητοῦντες ἔλαιον. ἔδει σε πέμπων φακὸν
ἡμεῖν καὶ σίτον πέμψαι εἰδὼς ὅτι ο[ὕ]κ ἔχο-
μεν παρ[έ]χειν. ἐὰν δὲ μὴ νῦν θέλῃς π[έ]μψαι,

funerary context.

¹⁶ π for Winter and Youtie’s τᾱ was suggested by Rodney Ast, comparing the letter in l. 22. It is evident that some phrase is required meaning “the oil” or “all the oil,” but I have not been able to find a suitable reading.

- 12 δύνηται¹⁷ προχωρήσαι το[ῦ] στ[α]τῆρ[ος] μέτρου
 ἐνὸς ἡμίσεος. εἰ νῦν πέμψεις π[ροχ]ρεῖαν,
 πέμψον πυροῦ ἀρτάβας πέ[ν]τε. ὁ φακὸς
 πωλεῖται ἐκ δύο μ[έ]τρων τοῦ[ς] στατῆρες.
- 16 ἐκομισάμην διὰ Φατρέους (δραχμὰς) ρος καὶ
 φακοῦ (ἀρτάβας) δ καὶ τ[υροῦ]ς¹⁸ ὀβολιαίους
 ἰδ καὶ ἀνὰ δύοβολ[ο]ν .[. . .] καὶ τοὺς ἰχθύ-
 ας. κόμισαι παρὰ Σουή[ρο]ν σπυρίδιον
- 20 ἐν ᾧ ἐστὶν διζύφων μ[έ]τρον ἓν, ρόας λ̄,
 καὶ σικύδια τε. δήλωσόν μοι ἐκ πόσου
 τὴν ἀρτάβην πειήρας ἐλαίας βούλει ὠνή-
 σασθαί με. πάντες γὰρ ἐζήτουν σίτον καὶ
- 24 φακ[ὸ]ν προχρείας ὅπως ἐ[τ]οιμάσωσι. κό-
 μισαι παρὰ τοῦ αὐτοῦ σπυρίδ[ιο]ν ἐν ᾧ ἐστὶν χλ[ω-]
 ροῦ φο[ίν]ικος μέτρα δύο καὶ τοὺς δύο χοεῖς ἕξ
 μετρητὰς οἴνου παλαιοῦ – μετὰ πολλοῦ
- 28 μόγου ἐὰν εὗρω – καὶ ὅστων (ἀρτάβας) ἱβ—.
 ἀσπάζο[υ] Ἑλένην, Θαῆσιον καὶ τὰ παιδιά, Πτολε-
 μαῖν.
 ἔρρωσο. . .[. . .] μηνὸς Ἀδριανοῦ.¹⁹

In left margin:

- ἐν τάχει οὐχ εὗρον τὸν χιτῶνα τὸν ἐρεῶξυλον ὡς
 ἤθελον. εἰ δὲ θέλεις ὑφανθῆ-
- 32 ναί σοι ἐνθάδε, πέμψον στήμονα καὶ τὰ μέτρα. φρόν' τισον'
 τοῦ σίτου τοῦ πεμπομένου εἰς Ψῶβ-
 θιν καὶ τοῦ σίτου Χαιράτος. μὴ ἀμελῆς περὶ πάντων.
 κόμισαι παρὰ Φατρέους Χαιράτος σπυρί-
 διον ἐν ᾧ φοινίκων μέτρα τρία καὶ ρόας ν̄ καὶ ἐπιστόλιον.
 ὅρα οὖν μὴ ἀμελῆς αὐτοῦ.

“Herakleides (?) to his dearest Horion, greetings. All who send letters send them concerning the camels. I detained the men with the camels. For it was after we had loaded the camels with date-stones that the letter was brought

¹⁷ δύνεται Winter and Youtie. It is possible that it has been corrected from *alpha* to *eta* or vice versa.

¹⁸ My reading and restoration; Winter and Youtie read .[. . .]ς. Cf. *P.Oxy.* 4.729.10, where τυροὺς ὀβολιαίους ἑκατὸν figure in a required lease payment.

¹⁹ Reading by Rodney Ast, instead of Winter and Youtie's . . .νος Ἀπιαγοῦ.

to me. [This was a good thing] for I was able to buy [oil]²⁰ at the price of 112 drachmas per *metretes*. For strangers have come looking for olive oil. When you were sending us lentils, you should have sent grain also, since you know that we cannot supply it. If you do not wish to send it now, it can be obtained [here] at the price of a *stater* for one and a half *metra*. If you send an advance now send five artabas of wheat. Lentils are being sold at the rate of two *metra* for the *stater*. I received through Phatres 196 drachmas and 4 artabas of lentils and 14 one-obol cheeses and ... at the rate of two obols each, and the fish. Receive from Soueros a basket in which there are one *metron* of jujubes, 30 pomegranates, and 15 gourds. Tell me at what price for the artaba you wish me to buy succulent olives. For they were all asking for grain and lentils by way of advance in order that they might make preparation. Receive from the same messenger a basket in which there are two *metra* of fresh dates and the two *choes*, six *metretai* of old wine – it is only with much trouble that I find any – and 12 artabas of date-stones. Greet Helene, Thaesion and her children, and Ptolema. Farewell. ... month Hadrianos. PS: In a hurry I did not find the cotton *chiton* as I should have liked. If you want to have one woven for you here, send warp thread and the measurements. Take thought about the grain which is being sent to Psobthis and the grain of Chairas. Do not neglect all these things. Receive from Phatres, the son of Chairas, a basket in which there are three *metra* of dates and 50 pomegranates and a letter. See that you do not neglect it.”

It was Guy Wagner who recognized that the pattern of the materials sent and received by Herakleides suggested his location in the Small Oasis: he is receiving wheat, lentils, and fish, and sending dates and wine.²¹ More can be said, and indeed in a later article Wagner pointed out that the “bones,” as Winter and Youtie translated ὀστᾶ, could only be date stones.²² As he remarked, “les noyaux sans autre précision ou associés à des dattes sont des noyaux de dattes. Récupérés après détritage ou consommation des fruits, ils étaient, dans tous les cas de figure, broyés et réduits en poudre. Ils servaient fondamentalement à l'alimentation du bétail. Cette pratique prévalait dans les déserts, les Oasis, chez

²⁰ See H.-J. Drexhage, *Preise, Mieten/Pachten, Kosten und Löhne im römischen Ägypten bis zum Regierungsantritt Diokletians* (St. Katharinen 1991) 48, who lists this papyrus, despite the absence of a full reading of the text in Winter and Youtie, as referring to olive oil. He calculates the price per *kotyle* as 0.78 dr., which is in line with second-century olive oil prices but lower than average – not surprisingly if we are talking about the price in the Oasis.

²¹ Wagner (n. 5) 293, n. 9.

²² “ὀστᾶ ποίνικος,” *ZPE* 105 (1995) 161-165.

les caravaniers. Ceci explique qu'ils soient si peu présents dans la documentation papyrologique qui concerne avant tout la vallée du Nil; il y a de fortes présomptions que les rares documents où ils figurent soient en rapport avec le désert occidental et les Oasis.²³ The jujubes, the rarity of which inspired a long note by Winter and Youtie (p. 253, 20n.), are also an oasis fruit, common both in the documents and in the archaeobotanical finds.²⁴ Once again, the rarity of the fruit in the papyri is likely to be a reflection of the fact that our documents overwhelmingly come from the Valley.

But something more may also be said about the wheat and lentils. It is precisely the lack of availability of these in the place from which Herakleides is writing that marks this out as the Small Oasis. In the Dakhla and Kharga Oases, wheat and barley were grown in antiquity, as they are today, for local consumption. The distance from the Valley to these oases would have made their importation extremely expensive, and estates seem to have aimed at self-sufficiency.²⁵ But this is not true of the Small Oasis, where today the visitor accustomed to the agricultural patterns of the Great Oasis is struck by the utter dominance of fruit trees, to the virtual exclusion of arable cultivation. There is in fact evidence of the importation of cereals into the Small Oasis in the Roman period.²⁶

Happily, Herakleides even tells us the current market price of wheat and lentils: wheat is selling for 1 1/2 *metra* (*matia*, at 10 to the artaba) per *stater*, or 26 2/3 drachmas per artaba. Lentils are selling for 2 *metra* per *stater*, or 20 drachmas per artaba. Although relatively few lentil prices are available for comparison, those we have do tend to suggest a relationship to wheat in line with the 3:4 ratio seen here.²⁷ A wheat price at this level would be very high for the second century, when a range of 8-12 was more normal; average prices in the mid-20s do not appear until the middle of the third century, although it

²³ Wagner (n. 22) 165. Cf. also *P.Kellis* 4, pp. 43 and 55.

²⁴ *P.Kellis* 4, p. 44, with references. See now *O.Kellis* 90.2.

²⁵ On this point see *P.Kellis* 4, pp. 78-80.

²⁶ Mainly from customs receipts; a good example is *P.Grenf.* 2.50(b), of AD 145, a receipt for Harpagathes, who is exporting 20 artabas of wheat to the Small Oasis on 2 camels.

²⁷ Drexhage (n. 20) 34-35, discusses lentil prices briefly and gives a table. The evidence largely comes from SB 8.9699, with 5-7 dr./artabas; the comparable range for wheat in this document is 8-11 dr., the lower figure in transactions with the state, the higher in private transactions; see D.W. Rathbone, "Prices and Price Formation in Roman Egypt," in *Économie antique: Prix et formation des prix dans les économies antiques* (Saint Bertrand-de-Comminges 1997) 183-244 at 217 and 221. See also R.S. Bagnall, *Currency and Inflation in Fourth Century Egypt* (Atlanta 1985) 8, arriving at an average ratio of just under 3:4.

must be remembered that we have nothing approaching a continuous series of data.²⁸ The tone of the letter does suggest a situation of shortage, of course. But another explanation should be considered, namely that the cost of transportation from Oxyrhynchos to the Small Oasis, about 200 km by camel, would have increased the cost of bulk commodities like wheat and lentils considerably.

We can be more precise about this. We know from a papyrus of AD 145 (*W.Chr.* 321 = *BGU* 3.697) that the charge for carrying a “metallic talent” of alum, weighing 21 kg, for 270 km from the Small Oasis to the Fayyum was 7 1/2 drachmas. We may calculate that 21 kg x 270 km = 5,670 kgkm; that is, the sum in question was sufficient to pay for 5,670 kilogram-kilometers (1 kg carried 1 km).²⁹ Dividing that by 7.5 (drachmas) indicates that 1 drachma paid for 756 kgkm/dr. Now 1 artaba of wheat weighs some 30.3 kg. Transporting an artaba from Oxyrhynchos to Psobthis, a distance of about 200 km, entails 6,060 kgkm, which would have cost just about exactly 8 drachmas. Of course, as always, we should not push matters too far; such costs will have varied for reasons we cannot know in particular cases. Still, we may suppose that not much short of a third of the cost of the artaba in the Small Oasis will have represented transport costs. That would mean that the cost of the goods apart from transport was 18 2/3 dr. per artaba in this case, still a very high price if it comes from the second century.³⁰ At all events, the transportation penalty is clear. That the Small Oasis continued to grow fruit crops – and, as we see, cotton – instead suggests that the high profitability of such crops paid for the extra cost of supplying the Oasis with cereals.

Such a conclusion fits well with the view of land transportation that has gradually been emerging from more recent scholarship, particularly in the case of Egypt from Colin Adams’s study (see n. 29). In place of the often repeated but overly simplistic view that long-distance land transportation was essentially prohibitively expensive in normal market operations, it has become clear that the economy of the oases responded to the cost of transportation as one might expect in a market economy. Only those products were exported to the Valley for which the oases had a cost advantage sufficient to outweigh the cost of transport by camel, mainly fruit crops which had a high value relative to bulk and in the production of which the oases had an advantage over the

²⁸ See Rathbone (n. 27) 217–220, for a table of these prices. He suggests on 197 that there was normally a fluctuation, owing to a variety of factors, on either side of the median; anything more than that band would be the product of exceptional disturbances.

²⁹ The papyrus is cited by C.E.P. Adams, *Land Transport in Roman Egypt* (Oxford 2007) 231, but without an attempt to calculate kgkm rates.

³⁰ See Rathbone (n. 27) for the comparable prices.

Valley because of the availability of perennial irrigation. There were also non-agricultural products uniquely or principally available in the oases, like alum, but these do not figure in the Michigan papyrus. In all likelihood, the camels had less to carry back to the oases than to carry from them, a circumstance which may have made it economically feasible to carry grain the 200 km to Bahariya or to carry raw metals to Kharga and Dakhla.

Finally, it is clear that the presence of cotton in the oases, for which our late antique evidence has grown so dramatically in the last two decades, is not something new in the fourth century, but goes back at least to the second century. The oases had a decisive advantage in cotton growing under ancient conditions, but we have as yet hardly any idea of when cotton was introduced or on what scale it was grown. That is a subject for another study.

Oxyrhynchus in the Early Fourth Century: “Municipalization” and Prosperity

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Abstract

This article collects recent evidence for the role and activities of the *logistes* (*curator civitatis*) at Oxyrhynchus in the early fourth century AD. It illustrates the ways in which the administration of the metropolis was subjected to more systematic and perhaps more efficient corporate control through the civic officers and considers whether the evidence for civic pride and public expenditure in the later third and the early fourth century is consistent with a scenario of “crisis and recovery.”

Our knowledge of the detail of civic administration in early fourth-century Oxyrhynchus has increased dramatically in the past twenty years, in large part thanks to the painstaking and meticulous editions of several long and difficult papyri from the Oxyrhynchus collection by Revel Coles. These not only provide much new prosopographical information about the individuals who held the post of *logistes* (the finance officer, *curator civitatis*), the earliest of whom is attested in AD 303,¹ but also a great deal of evidence for the functions of the office that was clearly the most important innovation in civic administration in the Diocletianic period. This new evidence has hardly gone unnoticed, but it remains true that the only detailed examination of the character and functions of the office is that by B.R. Rees, written more than half a century ago and therefore long out of date.² Although full analysis of this material remains (and will still remain) to be undertaken, it offers a useful opportunity

¹ For a comprehensive list see *P.Oxy.* 54, p. 223, and add *P.Oxy.* 60.4083-4085. An early contribution to the prosopography of the officials was made by the honorand of this collection: J.G. Keenan, “The Names Flavius and Aurelius as Status Designations in Later Roman Egypt,” *ZPE* 11 (1973) 33-63 at 44-45.

² B.R. Rees, “The Curator Civitatis in Egypt,” *JJP* 7-8 (1953-1954) 83-105. See also A.K. Bowman, “Some Aspects of the Reform of Diocletian in Egypt,” *PapCongr. XIII*,

to assess the urban landscape from the administrative and economic perspective in the early fourth century, particularly in the context of current debates about “economic crisis” and “recovery” in the second half of the third century and the first half of the fourth.³ It would be natural to suppose that the other major *metropoleis* such as Hermopolis were in a similar condition to that of Oxyrhynchus, but there is little direct evidence to go on.

Rees’s broad summary of the functions of the office mentioned the receipt and custody of public documents, the supervision of religious and cultural institutions, control of municipal accounts, guilds and markets, supervision of liturgies and public works, the investigation of complaints on behalf of the prefect, and the execution of prefectorial decisions.⁴ I do not attempt to provide a complete list of relevant texts published after Rees’s article, but it may be useful to cite the major new documents that add significantly to our knowledge of the *logistes*’ responsibilities and activities. These are (in order of date of publication):

- *P.Oxy.* 33.2666 and 2667 (ca. AD 308/9 and 309), official correspondence concerning a loan made by a *logistes* from municipal funds (2666) and a demand from a *logistes* that his predecessor, who made the loan, produce for the prefect of Egypt the accounts of his financial administration (2667).
- *P.Oxy.* 44.3195 (AD 331), report to the *logistes* by the builders’ guild on the state of property inspected by them and a report by public doctors.
- *P.Oxy.* 51.3624-3626 (AD 359), price declarations to the *logistes* by the guilds of silversmiths, bakers and weavers.
- *P.Oxy.* 54.3731-3740, 3742-3745, 3747-3753, 3755, 3760-3763, 3765, 3768, 3772, and 3776, monthly declarations of prices of goods made by various guilds of traders to the *logistes*, ranging in date from AD 310 to 343. It is

43-51; J. Lallemand, *L’administration civile de l’Egypte de l’avènement de Dioclétien à la création du diocèse (284-382)* (Brussels 1964) 107-131.

³ For Egypt see now P. van Minnen, “The Changing World of Cities in Later Roman Egypt,” in J.-U. Krause and C. Witschel (eds.), *Die Stadt in der Spätantike – Niedergang oder Wandel?* (Stuttgart 2006) 153-179, and *id.*, “The Other Cities in Later Roman Egypt,” in R.S. Bagnall (ed.), *Egypt in the Byzantine World, 300-700* (Cambridge 2007) 207-225; R. Alston, *The City in Roman and Byzantine Egypt* (London 2002); and cf. W. Liebeschuetz, *Decline and Fall of the Roman City* (Oxford 2001), ch. 5 (“Civic finances of the late Roman cities of the East with special reference to Egypt,” with a summary account of the fourth century at p. 193). Among very recent discussions of the broader picture in addition to Liebeschuetz: C. Lepelley, “La cité africaine tardive, de l’apogée du IV^e siècle à l’effondrement du VII^e siècle,” in Krause and Witschel, 13-31; A. Giardina, “The Transition to Late Antiquity,” in W. Scheidel, I. Morris, and R. Saller (eds.), *The Cambridge Economic History of the Greco-Roman World* (Cambridge 2007) 743-768.

⁴ Rees (n. 2) 98-99.

important to emphasize that these are not fixed retail prices that they charge for their goods in the market, but the prices paid by them or the value of the goods or materials of their trade in stock either currently or at the end of the monthly reporting period (ιδίω τιμήματι προσφωνῶ τὴν ἐξῆς ἐγγεγραμμένην τιμὴν ὧν χειρίζω ὀνίων).⁵

- *P.Oxy.* 54.3741 (AD 313?), part of an official daybook with summaries of matters dealt with by the *logistes*.

- *P.Oxy.* 54.3758-3759 (AD 325), and 3764 (ca. AD 326), records of hearings before the *logistes*, most concerning inheritance law, one concerning a compulsory purchase of military clothing, another the ownership of buildings or building land.

- *P.Oxy.* 60.4075 (AD 318?), a fragment of the *logistes*' daybook.

- *P.Oxy.* 63.4357 (AD 317?), memorandum about sums of expenditure on the Capitoline Games, not recorded in the monthly accounts, noting that the treasurer of the city funds (ταμίας πολει(τι)κῶν χρ(ημάτων))⁶ had absconded.

- *P.Oxy.* 64.4441 (AD 315-316) contains two doctors' reports and a long report from members of guilds of craftsmen in the building trade detailing repairs needed to various public and private buildings in the city.

We might perhaps draw attention to three points. First, the involvement of the *logistes* in matters concerning military requisitions evidently relates to the administration of tax collection, which involves responsibility for the whole nome, not just the metropolis.⁷ Second, the new information on the exercise of powers of arbitration or "jurisdiction" in matters concerning property serves to temper Rees's excessively legalistic formulation of this aspect of his activity.⁸ Third, the importance of the detailed evidence for procedures of documentation, some of which are well analyzed by Coles and therefore not repeated

⁵ There has been some discussion of this point in relation to these and earlier such declarations (for the latter see *P.Oxy.* 31.2570 introd.). The declarations in vol. 54 do not undermine the conclusion in *P.Oxy.* 51.3624-2626 introd. (AD 359) that representatives of the guild declare the price paid for the raw material of their craft during the month in question (some of which may have remained in stock at the end of the month). There is no explicit statement in any of the documents of this kind as to why they were required or how they were used. It is not clear to me why the editor translates ιδίω τιμήματι as "at my own financial risk" (for which the standard phrase is ιδίω κινδύνῳ) rather than "on my own valuation" (see, e.g., *P.Oxy.* 9.1200.45, 1208.4 [both III AD], and cf. *P.Ant.* 1.38 introd., a text that shows that at Antinoopolis at least such declarations, with a different formula, were being made by April, AD 300; see *SB* 10.10257).

⁶ On this official see the note to line 9.

⁷ Also clear in (e.g.) *P.Oxy.* 17.2106 (AD 304), concerning a levy of gold bullion.

⁸ Rees (n. 2) 100-104.

here;⁹ but I note particularly the evidence for *monthly* reporting by the guilds in the price declarations and *monthly* accounting in *P.Oxy.* 63.4357. This would suggest an established system of monthly reporting over a range of the *logistes'* activities.

It hardly seems necessary to insist that this demonstrates a very detailed system of civic financial management in the hands of a new official created not later than AD 303, though it cannot be the case that all of the bureaucratic procedures for which he was to be responsible were introduced at that date. This was one of a number of changes in local government, introduced over a period of time, that have a broader significance. Two features should be stressed. As far as the *logistes* is concerned, the standard designation λογιστῆς Ὁξύρυνχου makes it clear, as does the evidence for his activities, that his sphere of competence extended to the whole nome and not just the metropolis. As with most administrative reorganization, this is partly new and partly an institutionalization of some pre-existing arrangements. This implicit recognition of the integrity of the *metropolis* and the nome as a unit has in the past been labeled as "municipalization," a term that seems to me somewhat misleading in evoking comparison with the *municipia* of the Roman West. A second feature is the close attention given by the higher officials, including the prefect, to the details of civic financial administration, including scrutiny of the accounts and ordering or authorizing particular activities such as construction and repair of buildings financed by civic funds. This was not by any means unknown before AD 300.¹⁰ Whatever degree of "autonomy" we might identify in civic or "municipal" administration, the overriding authority of the provincial governor had always been there to be invoked, but our papyrus documentation gives the impression that in early fourth-century Oxyrhynchus this was more systemic than exceptional. In effect, this will mean that the civic officials, chosen from the ranks of the bouleutic class, now have more direct and routine responsibility to the governor.¹¹

These are, in my view, central and well recognized features of the reforms of the Diocletianic period. They have often been placed in the context of "crisis" and "recovery" but in this respect the analysis perhaps needs to be more nuanced. We appear to be seeing the introduction of an improved and more integrated system of administration that lasted for at least a few decades. The detailed evidence for the activities of the *logistes* at Oxyrhynchus peters out shortly after the middle of the fourth century, but absence of evidence should

⁹ *P.Oxy.* 54, App. 4, on scribes and subscribers.

¹⁰ See, e.g., *P.Amh.* 2.64 (AD 107), financing of baths in Hermopolis.

¹¹ Cf. A.K. Bowman, *The Town Councils of Roman Egypt* (Toronto and New Haven 1971) 124-127.

always be treated with caution.¹² The administrative system of the early fourth century could be viewed as more “corporate” and bureaucratic but also more robust and transparent if it relied more on effective governmental institutions and less on “voluntary” contributions by way of euergetism and liturgical service. Hence the insistence, for example, on scrutiny of the *logistes*’ municipal accounts (*P.Oxy.* 33.2667). The practices of euergetism had never been as widespread in Egypt as elsewhere, though perhaps not as slight as some have thought, but there is little sign of them continuing after Diocletian.¹³ Liturgical service had lost its voluntary character by the third century and is certainly still well attested in the first half of the fourth, by which time the *logistes* played a central administrative role in it. By way of comparison, it is certainly worth noting the evidence for civic prosperity in the cities of North Africa in the fourth century, with a greater degree of communal responsibility and control than earlier.¹⁴ Even if not causally linked, the two phenomena are compatible and there seems no reason why the same should not in principle also be the case in Egypt.

The documents of early fourth-century Oxyrhynchus show signs of significant expenditure on urban facilities and activities. It is unfortunate that the long list of repairs to urban buildings in *P.Oxy.* 64.4441 (cols. 3ff.) does not state the estimated costs of the building materials involved, but it is obvious that a very large number of buildings were listed and large quantities of raw materials were needed. The document is merely a survey and estimate, and there is no proof that the repairs were actually carried out, but the fragmentary passage in col. 12 appears to state that the guilds of masons, builders and carpenters received their instructions from the *praeses* of Aegyptus Herculia, which must indicate interest and monitoring of civic building at the highest level of provincial government (surely not simply because the estimate following relates, among other buildings, to the *ἱερὸν παλάτιον*).¹⁵ There are, of course, two ways of interpreting this activity. That a large number of public and private buildings

¹² For changes in the fifth century and later see Liebeschuetz (n. 3).

¹³ For a survey see P. van Minnen, “Euergetism in Graeco-Roman Egypt,” in L. Mooren (ed.), *Politics, Administration and Society in the Hellenistic and Roman World* (Leuven 2000) 437–469, ascribing the changes in the fourth century to the influence of Christianity.

¹⁴ The case was originally made in detail by C. Lepelley, *Les cités de l’Afrique romaine au Bas-Empire*, vol. 1 (Paris 1979); see his partial retraction in response to the criticism that this was over-optimistic in Lepelley (n. 3) 18–19, noting that the evidence for civic construction was mostly by way of restoration rather than new building.

¹⁵ Despite the name, this is likely to be a civic building rather than something specially constructed for imperial purposes; see *P.Panop.Beatty* 1.260n.

had been allowed to decline into a state of decay and disrepair indicates that the economic health of the civic community was not good. Or, on the contrary, the fact that extensive and expensive repairs could be carried out indicates that, whatever had preceded, the money was now or could be made available from local civic resources. There is an apt and obvious comparison to be made here with the well-known “repairs papyrus” from Hermopolis, dating to the 260s, which has also been interpreted in both senses. The most recent treatment by Peter van Minnen opts for the crisis scenario (no proof, but congruent with the general impression of the period) and shows that the *metropolis* had to levy large extra contributions in order to meet the cost.¹⁶ Even allowing for differences in the general economic situation between the mid-third and the early fourth century, it would be possible to argue that the earlier problem was not shortage of money in the community per se but the fact that it was held as private wealth by the elites, which could be abused, misused, or not used, and the civic government was not able to call on it except by way of euergetism, public service, or enforced levies.¹⁷

A second Oxyrhynchite document of the same period provides information about expenditure on the Capitoline Games (*P.Oxy.* 63.4357). Although the exact financial details are unclear and some malfeasance was detected, it appears that the sum of over 427 talents had been expended in two months from the general city funds for the Capitoline Games, in addition to which contributions of 100 talents had been expected (though perhaps not fully realized) from the councilors.¹⁸ Despite the difficulties inherent in calculating exact values and prices at specific dates in this period, we can derive some notion of scale from the data collected by Roger Bagnall and note in particular that the total sum of 527 talents would come close to the value of two pounds

¹⁶ *C.P.Herm.* 101 with Peter van Minnen, “Hermopolis in the Crisis of the Roman Empire,” in W. Jongman and M. Kleijwegt (eds.), *After the Past: Essays in Ancient History in Honour of H. W. Pleket* (Leiden 2002) 285–304.

¹⁷ There may be a partial parallel for this in the cities of Bithynia-Pontus in Pliny’s governorship where B. Levick (“Pliny in Bithynia – and What Followed,” *G&R* 26, 1979, 119–131 at 128), following Sherwin-White, identified the problem as an excess of prosperity rather than a shortage of money – but the key factor may be that the money was not in communal control.

¹⁸ The editor draws attention (13–15n.) to *P.Harr.* 1.97 (probably from Oxyrhynchus, assigned to IV AD), suggesting routine expenditure of 215 talents for prizes (perhaps crowns) at the Capitoline Games; possibly but not certainly the same occasion as in *P.Oxy.* 63.4357. Note that it marks the “victory and perpetual continuance” of the emperors; the *logistes* of Arsinoe is also responsible for the disbursement of crown money from the city funds for the tenth anniversary of Constantine (*CPR* 23.23, ca. AD 314/5).

of gold in AD 317/8 as attested by *P.Oxy.* 43.3121.¹⁹ The concern here evinced for transparent accounting is not new and reinforces the impression conveyed by *P.Oxy.* 33.2666-2667 a few years earlier.

In short, the evidence from Oxyrhynchus suggests that, whatever economic difficulties might have affected other areas of Egypt (particularly some of the Fayum villages) in this period, there was not a dire shortage of money as such in the *metropolis*. The reforms of the early fourth century in civic administration might have addressed the problem of making sure that it was systematically directed to the needs of the community, which had perhaps not been the case in the third century: The special imperial appointment of a *curator* at Hermopolis in the 260s had been merely a temporary *ad hoc* solution.²⁰

No doubt Alston is correct in thinking that it was the wealth of the gymnasial office-holding class that “ran and built the city.”²¹ And if Ruffini is correct in thinking that the adult males of the gymnasial class numbered around 4,000, they and their families will have represented a very considerable proportion of the population of the *metropolis*.²² Although we have, as has been seen, some evidence for the scale of civic expenditure in this period, we are much less well informed about the sources, the scale, and the methods of raising of civic income, as Alston’s brief summary shows.²³ He gives references, mostly relating to the second and third centuries, to market taxes, councilors’ entry fees, *summa honoraria*, and the like; we know also that revenue accrued from ownership of urban property in which the city invested even in supposedly difficult times;²⁴ we have already noticed the contributions of councilors to the cost of the Capitoline Games of AD 316/7; but in general our evidence for accounts of civic expenditure far outweighs that for income. We do not know

¹⁹ R.S. Bagnall, *Currency and Inflation in Fourth Century Egypt* (Atlanta 1985) 61.

²⁰ See van Minnen (n. 16).

²¹ Alston (n. 3), 196.

²² G. Ruffini, “Genealogy and the Gymnasium,” *BASP* 43 (2006) 71-99. Recent estimates of the total size of the urban population still show very wide parameters (see, e.g., L.E. Tacoma, *Fragile Hierarchies: The Urban Elites of Third Century Egypt* [Leiden 2006] 42-43, 50-55). If we look towards the higher end of the spectrum, a total of 12,000+ in the gymnasial families would constitute one third of a total population of around 35,000+. There is no space here for full discussion of the figures and their implications for distribution of wealth; on the latter issue in general see D.W. Rathbone, “Poverty and Population in Roman Egypt,” in M. Atkins, R.G. Osborne (eds.), *Poverty in the Roman World* (Cambridge 2006) 100-114.

²³ Alston (n. 3) 193-196.

²⁴ On this phenomenon, which involves purchase of confiscated property from the *idios logos*, see the detailed introduction to *P.Oxy.* 70.4778 (ca. AD 238) by J. D. Thomas. For evidence from Hermopolis see *C.P.Herm.* 119.r (AD 266/7).

how inventive the *metropolis* could be in creating new sources of revenue. The evidence for systematic *civic* taxation in earlier centuries is very sparse, but it is worth drawing attention to the probability of the introduction of a civic poll tax in the reigns of Diocletian and Constantine. This is likely to be the correct explanation of the appearance of the mysterious ἐπικεφάλαιον πόλεως, known only at Oxyrhynchus in texts reliably dated between AD 296/7 and 319/20.²⁵ Apart from its unique appearance in time and place there are several features that might favor this hypothesis:²⁶ the name of the tax itself; the fact that it is collected by a civic official, the *systates* who is otherwise responsible for matters connected with the metropolites and their status; the fact that it does not obviously fit the new *capitatio* introduced in the edict of Aristius Optatus in AD 297²⁷ – indeed, the statement in *P.Oxy.* 65.4490, of 299, that the ἐπικεφάλαιον was levied “in accordance with the orders of the prefect” clearly suggests that it was not part of this general tax reform. If this is correct, we see this city capitation tax as a method of raising significant amounts of revenue for the *metropolis* from the lower orders, as John Rea suggested in his analysis of the taxpayers: not full citizens but inhabitants of the city without full rights and privileges of citizenship, or those non-citizens who were registered as living in the town, who were probably the majority of the population. On the basis of *P.Oxy.* 55.3787 we can then go a step further and emphasize that this capitation tax for the benefit of the *metropolis* was also levied on at least some of the village residents of the nome, perhaps those who also had some registered base or activity in the city.²⁸

In assessing the validity of the “crisis and recovery” scenario, another brief backward glance at the supposed period of crisis might be useful. It has already been observed by several commentators that in the few years preceding the Aurelianic coinage reform (or re-monetization)²⁹ Oxyrhynchus exhibits

²⁵ The evidence for this is collected and analyzed by J.R. Rea in *P.Oxy.* 55.3789 introd., to which add now 65.4490. Various difficulties of detail remain unexplained. *P.Oxy.* 34.2717(a) might date to AD 294/5 and thus be significantly earlier than the other receipts. The amounts paid in drachmas are normally 800, 1200, 1600, 2400 or 3200, but there are a few anomalies.

²⁶ Already firmly stated in *P.Oxy.* 34.2717.1n., but not prominent in subsequent discussions of this tax.

²⁷ *P.Cair.Isid.* 1.

²⁸ This text lists payments by residents of about fifteen villages in the Oxyrhynchite Nome. It is tentatively assigned to ca. AD 301/2 but could postdate the Diocletianic persecution by some years (post 311).

²⁹ D.W. Rathbone, “Monetisation, Not Price-inflation, in Third Century AD Egypt?” in C.E. King, and D. Wigg (eds.), *Coin Finds and their Use in the Roman World: The Thirtieth Oxford Symposium on Coinage and Monetary History* (Berlin 1996) 321–339.

clear signs of aspirations to enhance the impression of a self-confident and cultured Greek polis. The public *grammatikos*, athletes' pensions, privileges for members of the *gerousia*, Capitoline Games, and the grain distributions to the eligible elites (more than 3,000 adult males) must have come at considerable cost.³⁰ We do not know exactly how they were financed, but it does not seem likely to have been from the imperial *fiscus*. If from local revenues, one extraordinary corollary would be that those who "ran and built the city," who were without doubt members of the gymnasial class, would be financing the grain distributions that they themselves received! The monetary changes of Aurelian's reign certainly affected market prices,³¹ but a rapid survey of dated papyri from the 270s in the HGV does not reveal any sea-changes in the essential nature of the documented financial transactions of the metropolite class. One papyrus from the 270s reveals that significant sums could be raised from the elite locally at Oxyrhynchus (and elsewhere) and directed to Alexandria. In AD 279 the prefect Hadrianus Sallustius issued an edict requiring councilors of Alexandria who lived in the city (*scil.* Oxyrhynchus) and in all the districts of Egypt to contribute a talent towards the repair of the baths at Alexandria, perhaps needed because of damage caused during Aurelian's defeat of the Palmyrenes a few years earlier.³² Many years ago Grenfell and Hunt published a fragmentary list of the names of about thirty people (some with bouletic titles) making contributions of one talent, some more than once, for a purpose that must have been stated in the lost part of the document.³³ The temptation to link these two papyri and to identify the "year 5" of the latter as that of Probus (AD 279/80) surely should not be resisted. The details of the financial levy show resources being directed from the *metropolis* to Alexandria, as the later *ἐπικεφάλαιον* perhaps shows the villages of the Oxyrhynchite supporting the *metropolis*. And the evidence for the residence of at least thirty Alexandrian councilors at Oxyrhynchus (no doubt some Alexandrians with property in the *chora* and some upwardly mobile Oxyrhynchites) provides us with another glimpse of part of the anatomy of its civic elite.

³⁰ For a very good summary with references, see now P.J. Parsons, *City of the Sharp-Nosed Fish* (London 2007) 55-59, and cf. A.K. Bowman, "Roman Oxyrhynchus: City and People," in A.K. Bowman, R.A. Coles, N. Gonis, D. Obbink, and P.J. Parsons (eds.), *Oxyrhynchus: A City and Its Texts* (London 2007) 172-181 at 174-175. Also: new construction in AD 283 (*P.Oxy.* 1.55).

³¹ See D.W. Rathbone, "Prices and Price-Formation in Roman Egypt," in J. Andreau, P. Briant, R. Descat (eds.), *Économie antique. Prix et formation des prix dans les économies antiques* (St. Bertrand-de-Comminges 1997) 183-244.

³² *P.Oxy.* 51.3613.

³³ *P.Oxy.* 12.1496, written on the verso of 12.1414 (proceedings of the *boule*).

Given the patchy and ambiguous evidence, any attempt at precise quantification of municipal finances for the later third and early fourth century is bound to be very speculative,³⁴ and we can only conclude that financial resources must have been available and must have been largely obtained from the wealth of the urban elite. One development that is evident by the early fourth century and that might significantly have affected the ability and the willingness of that elite to support civic income is the privatization of former state or public land, with relatively low rates of land tax payable to the state.³⁵

It seems beyond doubt that after the demise of the provincial census in the mid-250s much of the administrative machinery at the local and the provincial level was in some disarray, to say the least. This is consistent with the perennial and plentiful evidence for inefficiency and corruption.³⁶ The Diocletianic reforms re-stabilized the administration and, it seems, introduced more transparency and control from the top but this certainly did not eradicate all traces of maladministration, if not corruption. It seems, however, first, that we should be careful in defining corruption, fairness, and good practice against expectations that were certainly different from those of a modern civil service; and second, that we should not automatically assume that these administrative failures were necessarily a sign of economic decline, chaos, or crisis. If the Oxyrhynchite evidence of the early fourth century reveals signs of civic pride and expenditure, it is paralleled in what is generally regarded as the worst phase of the third-century crisis in the 260s and 270s. The evidence from Egypt's neighboring provinces, Africa and Syria, is now thought to show a steady state through the later third century and demographic growth accompanied by increased prosperity in the early fourth.³⁷ Despite clear evidence for depression and depopulation in some areas, we should not assume that the broader picture in Egypt was significantly different.

³⁴ E.g. Tacoma (n. 22); cf. R.S. Bagnall, "The Bouleutic Merry-Go-Round," *JRA* 20 (2007) 639-642.

³⁵ See J.L. Rowlandson, *Landowners and Tenants in Roman Egypt: The Social Relations of Agriculture in the Oxyrhynchite Nome* (Oxford 1996), ch. 3 ("The tenure of public land").

³⁶ E.g. *P.Oxy.* 12.1413-1414; cf. Bowman (n. 11) 69-98.

³⁷ Lepelley (n. 3); G. Tate, *Les campagnes de la Syrie du Nord du II^e au VII^e siècle. Un exemple d'expansion démographique et économique à la fin de l'antiquité* (Paris 1992); *id.*, "The Syrian Countryside during the Roman Era," in S. Alcock, (ed.), *The Early Roman Empire in the East* (Oxford 1997) 55-71.

Homer on a Puzzling Ostrakon

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Abstract

O.Col. inv. 949, which comes from Upper Egypt and dates to the sixth century AD, was written in different styles by an apprentice scribe. It contains a paraphrase of *Iliad* 3.6 and a formulaic expression that occurs in *Iliad* 3.171 and 228.

This ostrakon, purchased by Columbia University in 1958, comes from Naville's dump at Dayr el-Baḥrī, which H.E. Winlock excavated with the Metropolitan Museum of Art in 1926-1928.¹ A photograph of this piece that was taken by H. Burton (M10C 15) before a significant cache of ostraka from this site left Egypt confirms its provenance.² This is the only Greek text that came with the 1,375 Coptic ostraka of the Columbia acquisition, most of which have the same provenance. The ostrakon is on grey limestone, is complete, and preserves four lines of writing in Greek. The text starts with a cross and is placed on the ostrakon so that there are ample margins. The spaces at the bottom and right, which are particularly large, are unwritten. The first two lines contain a paraphrase of the second half of Homer, *Iliad* 3.61 and the last two lines preserve a formulaic expression from *Iliad* 3.171 and 228 that refers to Helen.

¹ See columbia.apis.949 (acc. 64.11.280) with the image. On the temple and monastery, see E. Naville, *The Temple of Deir el Bahari: Its Plan, Its Founders, and Its First Explorers* (London 1894); W. Godlewski, *Le monastère de St. Phoibammon* (Warsaw 1986). On Dayr el-Baḥrī in Late Antiquity, cf. A. Łajtar, *Deir el-Bahari in the Hellenistic and Roman Periods: A Study of an Egyptian Temple Based on Greek Sources* (Warsaw 2006) 94-104.

² On the archaeological context and vicissitudes of this and other ostraka belonging to the same group, see E.R. O'Connell, "Ostraca from Western Thebes: Provenance and History of the Collections at the Metropolitan Museum of Art and at Columbia University," *BASP* 43 (2006) 113-137.

O.Col. inv. 949

13.3 x 7.2 cm

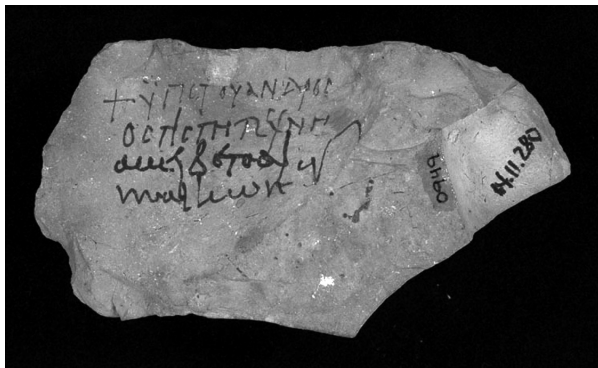
Dayr el-Bahri

Acc. 64.11.280; Burton photo M10C 15.

VI AD

- 1 + ὑπο τοῦ ἀνδρός
 οὗτις τῇ τέχνῃ
 3 ἀμείβετο δια
 γυναικῶν

ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀνδρός
 ὅστις τῇ τέχνῃ
 ἀμείβετο δια
 γυναικῶν



Palaeographically the ostrakon is interesting. At least two hands are present, but it is not clear how many writers were involved. The first line, including the initial cross, was written with a finer pen than the rest and shows letters well separated. The writing is quite stylized and is close to that of the sloping pointed majuscule, even though it does not share all of its features. The letters are quite narrow (especially o, ε, and σ) and τ has a long descender. Examples of similar (but not identical) kinds of writing, more or less formal, are attested in the fifth and sixth centuries; see, e.g., Cavallo-Maehler, *GB* 4 and plate 42b, and G. Cavallo et al., *Scrivere libri e documenti nel mondo antico* (Firenze 1998) nos. 69 (fifth century) and 71 (sixth century).

Line 1 seems to be written in a different hand than the second line and the two lines following it, unless we suppose that its writer changed his pen and altered his style to practice different ways of writing. The scenario would thus be similar to that of a papyrus of a much earlier date, *P.Oxy.* 68.4669, in which the same writer practiced different writing styles, all rather formal.³ In the Columbia ostrakon the second line, which reproduces in part the sloping style of the first by using a thicker pen, is not as regular as the line above it, has larger letters, and makes an attempt at ligaturing, particularly in the sequence

³ This papyrus dates to the first century AD or later. The writer practiced styles close to the biblical and Roman uncials.

τ ε χ. While the first two lines imitate a literary type of style, the two following are in a documentary hand, with ligatured letters and a flourish at the end of l. 3. The speed of writing seems to increase in the fourth line. The closest parallel that I was able to find for the third line comes from a sixth-century letter, *P.Oxy.* 43.3150, which comes from a monastic environment. I am inclined to assign a date to the sixth century to the Columbia ostrakon.

In the text, ll. 2 and 3 paraphrase *Iliad* 3.61, which reads after the caesura: ὑπ' ἀνέρος ὅς ῥά τε τέχνη. As was customary in *Scholia minora*, the writer of the ostrakon in the first two lines “translated” the epic expressions into an easier, Koine, form of Greek so that the dialect ἀνέρος was rendered as ἀνδρός and acquired an article; ὅς ῥά was simplified as ὅστις and τε became the article of the following noun. The *lemmata* (and glosses) for this particular verse do not appear in preserved *Scholia minora* on papyrus.⁴ Moreover, calling these two lines *Scholia minora* seems inappropriate because the *lemmata* are missing and the glosses are given one after the other, yet the principle inspiring the exercise was the same. Lines 3-4 also preserve half a verse after the caesura from the same book of the *Iliad*, but this time the writer quotes Homer directly.

The format of this exercise is unique. It is perhaps related to the practice of questions and answers that went on in the ancient classroom.⁵ The teacher might have asked the student to provide a clear paraphrase of l. 61 in order to show that he understood it properly and then required him to write down by heart the ending of 171 (or of 228). This attention to half-lines is not surprising, as shown by a Roman school exercise, a papyrus in which each line of two columns of writing consists of the first half-lines of a passage from the *Odyssey*.⁶ The exercise in question might have been the result of some form of testing and verification, which is an area of ancient education that is quite obscure, perhaps because it went on orally. The limited amount of writing on the Columbia ostrakon might derive from the same scenario. In any case, one may reject the proposition that this ostrakon was part of a larger piece that contained the missing lines of the Homeric version of verse 61 above and underneath l. 4 the paraphrase of that verse. It is clear that the exercise stands on its own: It starts with a cross to indicate the beginning, and a rather large unwritten space follows the writing. The “rest” of the exercise, if it was even done, might have been written on a different ostrakon.

⁴ See the alphabetical list of *lexeis* by John Landon on the web site of the University of Cologne: <http://www.ifa.uni-koeln.de/NRWakademie/Landon/ScholiaMinora.html>.

⁵ See R. Cribiore, *Gymnastics of the Mind: Greek Education in Hellenistic and Roman Egypt* (Princeton 2001) 209 and 212.

⁶ *P.Ryl.* 3.545, R. Cribiore, *Writing, Teachers, and Students in Graeco-Roman Egypt* (Atlanta 1996) no. 291.

Book 3 of the *Iliad* was widely read in Egypt.⁷ With the grammarian, students read more carefully the first six books of the *Iliad*, which were those that the general public knew best.⁸ Though we accept that modern tastes do not always coincide with those of the ancients, when we have to explain their distinct preference for book 2 we suspect that the choice was caused by its proximity to book 1, that is, by the inclination of ancient teachers to concentrate on the initial part of a work. It is possible that the same reason applies to book 3, i.e., that it was chosen because it stood close to the beginning of the whole work. But besides the type and format of this exercise and its very limited extent, the existence of at least two hands and their skilful characteristics are baffling and raise many questions. If the first line was written by a teacher, it is strange that he provided not the Homeric version of the verse but its “translation.” If two students were involved – something that happens on tablets shared by several individuals – why would they have shared a writing material that could be conveniently picked up anywhere? My inclination, accordingly, is to think that the whole exercise was written in different hands by the same individual.

The quality and appearance of the writing, moreover, strongly suggests a type of exercise of advanced penmanship and does not seem justified by the fact that exercises paraphrasing Homer were usually done by relatively advanced students in the class of a grammarian.⁹ This is a writer without hesitation and capable enough to perform in different styles. Two ostraka from the Monastery of Epiphanius from approximately the same period contain writing exercises from *Iliad* 1 and 2 that were written in expert scribal hands.¹⁰ And yet those scribes simply copied the Homeric text and did not engage in a practice that is considered part of ancient literary education. We still know very little about scribal education in spite of some recent research¹¹ and usually distinguish between the more or less elaborate exercises done in literary education and scribal training, which simply consisted of copying literary texts. Beyond the fact that it provides another witness to the *Iliad*, this ostrakon is interesting because it shows that scribal education might have been more thorough than we admit.¹²

⁷ The *LDAB* shows 94 extant texts besides those papyri that contained the whole *Iliad*.

⁸ On the selection of books of Homer for reading in and out of school, see Cribiore (n. 5) 194–197.

⁹ Students who penned *Scholia minora* wrote fluently but not with the same kind of expertise. Cf. Cribiore (n. 6) nos. 325–343.

¹⁰ Cribiore (n. 6) nos. 168 and 225 (*O.Mon.Epiph.* 611 and 612), dating VI/VII.

¹¹ See K. Haines-Eitzen, *Guardians of Letters: Literacy, Power, and the Transmitters of Early Christian Literature* (Oxford 2000).

¹² I thank the anonymous referee for her/his observations.

Quittances de loyer du *topos* d'apa Michel d'Antaiopolis

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Abstract

Édition d'une série de trois quittances de loyer provenant d'Aphrodité et concernant un terrain loué par le *topos* d'apa Michel d'Antaiopolis à Phoibammôn fils de Triadelphos, cousin de Dioscore. Elle permet de faire le point sur cet établissement religieux, qui est à distinguer d'un homonyme sis à Aphrodité même.

Le récipiendaire est bien connu entre autres pour ses travaux sur le village d'Aphrodité qui, en même temps que se dessinait une tendance à la réévaluation de l'Antiquité tardive, ont contribué à relancer l'intérêt pour ce qu'on appelle communément les archives de Dioscore, un des ensembles les plus riches de l'Égypte de cette période.² Parmi ses articles qui s'employaient à dresser une sociologie de cette communauté villageoise, un des plus souvent cités est celui qu'il consacra au cousin de Dioscore.³ C'est en témoignage de reconnaissance pour les travaux pionniers de Jim dans ce domaine que je lui offre – en les extrayant de mes futurs *P.Aphrodité*⁴ – l'édition de quittances de loyer au nom

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² Je prends ici l'appellation "archives de Dioscore" dans son sens large: on sait en effet qu'aux papyrus relevant *stricto sensu* de cet ensemble et découverts en 1905 sont venus s'ajouter des textes apparus sur le marché dans les années 40 (*P.Michael.*, *P.Mich.* 13 et *P.Vat.Aphrod.*). Il n'y a pas lieu d'entrer ici dans ces distinctions. Je renvoie, pour une présentation du problème, à mon "Archive ou Archives de Dioscore? Les dernières années des 'archives de Dioscore,'" dans J.-L. Fournet (éd.), *Les Archives de Dioscore d'Aphrodité cent ans après leur découverte. Histoire et culture dans l'Égypte byzantine* (Paris 2008) 17-30. On trouvera dans ce même volume (307-343) une liste des papyrus byzantins d'Aphrodité (archives de Dioscore et autres) édités jusqu'ici.

³ J.G. Keenan, "Aurelius Phoibammon, Son of Triadelphus: A Byzantine Egyptian Land Entrepreneur," *BASP* 17 (1980) 145-154.

⁴ Cette édition de papyrus inédits des archives de Dioscore que j'annonce depuis longtemps a connu du retard du fait de nouvelles découvertes et raccords.

de Phoibammôn qui viennent compléter le dossier qu'il avait réuni et auquel s'est ajouté très récemment *P.Köln* 11.461: le texte **1** est un inédit berlinois qui se raccorde à un fragment cairote déjà édité (*SB* 24.15908); **2** est la réédition corrigée d'une pièce londonienne que j'avais rapidement publiée en 2001 (*SB* 26.16530); **3** est la réédition de *P.Vat.Aphrod.* 11, papyrus publié en 1980 que **1** et **2** permettent de mieux lire et comprendre.⁵ D'autres quittances inédites concernant le même personnage mais relatives à des terrains appartenant à d'autres propriétaires feront l'objet d'un prochain article qui sortira ailleurs.

Les documents publiés ici forment une petite série de quittances par lesquelles le saint *topos* d'apa Michel d'Antaiopolis reconnaît avoir perçu le loyer de ses terrains loués à Phoibammôn fils de Triadelphos. Le *topos* γ est représenté, comme il se doit, par son économe, Haraous, accompagné, dans **3**, de Kôstantinos fils d'Iôannês, *diadokhos* – personnages par ailleurs inconnus.⁶ Ils sont tous rédigés et souscrits par Kôstantinos fils de Pinoutiôn, un des diacres de cet établissement. Aucun des trois ne localise les terrains qui donnent lieu au loyer. Quant aux indictions, elles sont chaque fois en lacune. Il est donc impossible de classer chronologiquement ces trois reçus et à plus forte raison de les dater de façon absolue.⁷ L'étendue de la carrière de Phoibammôn (526-572)⁸ ne permet même pas une datation approximative.

L'établissement religieux dont il est question est connu par d'autres pièces du village d'Aphrodité :

- *SB* 20.14669 (Cadastre), ll. 84, 166, 172 (avant l'été 524): εὐκτήριον τοῦ Ἀρχαγγέλου Μιχαήλ ἐν Ἀνταίου;

⁵ Je remercie Fabian Reiter (Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin) et Scot McKendrick (British Library) de l'autorisation de publication du *P.Berol.* inv. 25074 (Texte **1**) et du *P.Lond.* inv. 570 b (**2**). La photo du premier m'a été généreusement fournie par F. Reiter, que je remercie (je l'ai raccordée sur la planche avec la photo publiée par A. Hanafi dans *Pap.Congr.* XXI, Taf. VII, Abb. 3). La photo du second n'a pas pu être obtenue de la British Library; je suis donc dans l'obligation de donner un fac-similé. Je tiens enfin à remercier R. Pintaudi de m'avoir procuré une excellente photo du *P.Vat.Aphrod.* 11, qui m'a permis de faire des progrès dans la lecture de ce texte très abîmé. Je sais enfin gré à Nahum Cohen d'avoir bien voulu se dessaisir du *P.Berol.* inv. 25074 qui s'était glissé dans un lot de papyrus d'Hermopolis qu'il est en train d'éditer et dont j'ai pu identifier la véritable origine lors de sa communication au XXV^e Congrès International de Papyrologie d'Ann Arbor (août 2007).

⁶ Sur la raison de l'intervention de ce personnage et sur le rôle de l'économe, cf. ci-dessous le commentaire à 3.8.

⁷ **3** serait peut-être postérieur à **1-2**: cf. commentaire à 3.8.

⁸ Attestée par le *P.Michael.* 43 (526) et 48 (572).

- *P.Cair.Masp.* 3.67297.3 (535): ἄγιον εὐκτήριον ἅπα Χιμαχαῖλ⁹ (qui n'est pas à Aphrodité puisqu'il est dit κεκτημένου ἐπ[ι] κώμης [Ἀ]φροδί[της]);
- *P.Cair.Masp.* 1.67111.4, 11 (585):¹⁰ ἄγιος τόπος ἅπα Μιχαηλίου Ἀρχαγγέλου (qui n'est pas du ressort d'Aphrodité puisqu'il est dit κεκτημένου [à Aphrodité]).

Ces attestations nous apprennent que ce *topos* antaiopolitain était plus précisément un oratoire (εὐκτήριον).¹¹ Il est à différencier d'un autre du même nom situé sur le territoire d'Aphrodité, au sud du village, attesté par les documents suivants:

- *P.Cair.Masp.* 1.67110.24, 35 (565): ἄγιος τόπος ἀββᾶ Μιχαήλ au sud d'Aphrodité (cf. l. 23: ἐκ νότου τῆς κώμης Ἀφροδίτης);
- *P.Cair.Masp.* 2.67224 *descr.*, col. 2.2:¹² εὐκτήριον ἁγίου Μιχαηλίου Ἀφροδίτης;
- *P.Lond.* 4.1419.151 (après 716): τόπου ἀββ(ᾶ) Μιχαήλ.

Reste le cas de l'ἄγιος τόπος ἀββᾶ Μιχαηλίου de *P.Cair.Masp.* 1.67118.7 (547) que rien ne nous permet de rattacher à l'un ou l'autre *euktêrion*.

La localisation des deux établissements homonymes oblige à les distinguer, ce qui n'a pas été toujours fait par le passé.¹³ On remarquera d'ailleurs que celui d'Aphrodité fait précéder l'éponyme d'ἀββᾶ et celui d'Antaiopolis

⁹ Je ne m'explique pas cette forme fautive du nom, contrôlée sur un scan.

¹⁰ Voir le texte corrigé que je propose dans Fournet (n. 2).

¹¹ Sur le sens de τόπος et d'εὐκτήριον, cf. A. Papaconstantinou, *Le culte des saints en Égypte des Byzantins aux Abbassides. L'apport des inscriptions et des papyrus grecs et coptes* (Paris 2001) 269-278.

¹² Ce texte est inédit; la lecture que je propose a été faite sur l'original.

¹³ Pour s'en tenir à la bibliographie la plus récente: Papaconstantinou (n. 11) 155 (qui mêle les attestations du *P.Cair.Masp.* 1.67111 et 3.67297 à celles de l'établissement d'Aphrodité) et Timm 3, s. v. Kūm Išqāw, p. 1440, n° 8 (qui met côte à côte *P.Cair.Masp.* 3.67297 et 1.67110). Ce dernier auteur connaît pourtant bien l'existence de l'*euktêrion* d'Antaiopolis dont les attestations livrées par le Cadastre sont citées dans la notice consacrée à Qāw (al-Kabīr), vol. 5:2124. À côté de cela, il consacre une notice au "*Topos* des Apa Michael (I)" dans son vol. 6:2756-2757, qui, là encore, mêle des occurrences du *topos* antaiopolitain (*P.Cair.Masp.* 3.67297) à celles du *topos* d'Aphrodité (*P.Cair.Masp.* 1.67110, 67141 [sic]; *P.Lond.* 4.1419). Pour compliquer les choses, il traite (dans son vol. 3:1408-1409) du "Kloster des Erzengels Michael," situé à Kūm Isfaht, préférant rattacher l'attestation d'un οἶκ(ου) το(ῦ) ἁγί(ου) Μιχαηλίου en *P.Bad.* 4.94.7 à Aphrodité et proposant dubitativement d'identifier celui de *P.Cair.Masp.* 1.67111 au monastère qui fait l'objet de cette notice.

δ'ἄπα – le trop petit nombre d'attestations ne nous permettant cependant pas de savoir si cela faisait système.¹⁴

L'établissement antaiopolitain est identifiable avec le *topos* de l'archange Michel d'Antaiopolis qui est le cadre d'un sermon apocryphe copte attribué à Macaire de Tkow (c'est-à-dire d'Antaiopolis) et publié par G. Lafontaine.¹⁵ On a pourtant voulu arguer du titre d'ἄπα apparaissant dans le nom que donnent plusieurs de nos papyrus à cet établissement pour rejeter l'identification de l'éponyme avec l'archange Michel.¹⁶ Les attestations du Cadastre et du *P.Cair.Masp.* 1.67111 montrent qu'il n'en est rien. En revanche, rien dans les documents n'explique clairement le rapport de l'oratoire d'Aphrodité avec l'archange, même s'il est probable.¹⁷

Il est intéressant de relever les liens économiques entre cet *euktêrion* et la famille de Dioscore d'Aphrodité. Nos trois reçus nous présentent le cousin Phoibammôn¹⁸ comme locataire de terrains appartenant à cet établissement tandis qu'inversement, dans un des derniers papyrus des archives de Dioscore (postérieur à la mort de Phoibammôn), *P.Cair.Masp.* 1.67111 (585), l'*euktêrion* est locataire de terrains appartenant à la femme de Dioscore, Sophia.¹⁹ Ces liens ont d'ailleurs incité J. Maspero à voir dans *P.Cair.Masp.* 2.67141 un livre de comptes de domaines appartenant à cet établissement – hypothèse fondée sur des malentendus et que rien n'étaye.²⁰ Plus intéressant est de constater que

¹⁴ Sur ces deux titres, cf. T. Derda et E. Wipszycka, "L'emploi des titres *abba*, *apa* et *papas* dans l'Égypte byzantine," *JJP* 24 (1994) 23-56, qui dégagent des différences entre *abba* et *apa* (pp. 33-35) difficiles à appliquer dans le cas présent.

¹⁵ "Un éloge copte de saint Michel attribué à Macaire de Tkow," *Le Muséon* 92 (1979) 301-320, cité par J. Gascou dans sa réédition du Cadastre d'Aphrodité dans *Fiscalité et société en Égypte byzantine* (Paris 2008) 285, comm. à la l. 84. Le texte copte qualifie cet établissement de ΤΟΠΟΣ ΕΤΟΥΔΒ (p. 303, l. 4) sans donner plus de détails en dehors de sa localisation à Antaiopolis (ΤΚΩΟΥ ΤΠΟΛΙΟ).

¹⁶ N. Gonis, *Korr.Tyche* 253. Pour le titre, cf. T. Derda et E. Wipszycka (n. 14) 23-56, et, plus précisément dans les titulatures de saints, Papaconstantinou (n. 11) 240-245.

¹⁷ Sur la notoriété de l'archange en Égypte, cf. Papaconstantinou (n. 11) 157-158.

¹⁸ Sur les rapports familiaux de Phoibammôn fils de Triadelphos avec Dioscore d'Aphrodité, cf. l'arbre généalogique de la famille de ce dernier dans *P.Mich.Aphrod.*, p. 131.

¹⁹ Fournet (n. 2), où je révisé le texte du papyrus en en inversant le schéma contractuel (Sophia est désormais la propriétaire et l'*euktêrion* le locataire) et montre que Sophia fille d'Iôannès et petite-fille de Kornélios était la femme de Dioscore.

²⁰ "Fin du VI^e siècle (?). Cette appréciation repose sur l'identification, peu sûre d'ailleurs, de certains personnages cités avec des homonymes connus par les papyrus précédents: entre autres le Ἰωάννης Κορνηλίου (fol. II^b, 15) mentionné au n° 67111, l. 7 (daté de 585). En ce cas, les domaines en question seraient probablement ceux du couvent de St Michel, à Aphroditô, conclusion que semble corroborer l'examen détaillé

le renversement du schéma contractuel que met en valeur *P.Cair.Masp.* 1.67111 par rapport aux reçus ici publiés pourrait être un indicateur de la prospérité croissante de cette famille de “land entrepreneurs” – pour reprendre l’expression de J. Keenan dans l’article cité en introduction – qui finissent par être les bailleurs de leur ancien bailleur.

1. Quittance de loyer

SB 24.15908 + P.Berol. inv. 25074 (inédit)

Aphrodité, VI^P

Descr.: H 11,2 x L 31 cm. Bords supérieur, inférieur et droit d’origine. Le P.Berol. inv. 25074 (inédit) vient se raccorder directement à la droite du P.Cair. SR 3066 (8), fr. 11 édité par A. Hanafi (= SB 24.15908).²¹ Un trait marque, dans l’édition, la limite entre les deux fragments.

Main: Kó(n)stantinos fils de Pinoutiôn.

- ↓ † Τὸ δίκαιον τοῦ ἁγίου τόπου ἅπα Μιχαῆλ | τῆς Ἀνταιοπολιτῶν δ(ιὰ)
 ἐμοῦ Ἀραοῦτος πρεσβ(υτέρου)
 καὶ οἰκονόμου τῷ θαυμασ(ιωτάτῳ) Φοιβά|μμωνι Τριαδέλφον· ἔσχον καὶ
 πεπλήρωμαι
 παρὰ σοῦ [τοῦ φ]όρου τῶν ὑπὸ σὲ ἀρουρ|ῶν τοῦ προκειμένου ἁγίου
 τόπου κανόνος
- 4 [± 7 ἰνδ(ικτίονος)] ἔν τε σίτῳ καὶ κριθαῖς | κατὰ τὴν δύναμιν τῆς
 σῆς μισθώσεως
 [ἐκ πλήρους καὶ εἰς σὴν ἀσφάλειαν π]επο[ιη]μαί σοι ταύτην τὴν
 πληρωτικὴν
 [ἀποχὴν ὡς πρόκ(ε)ιται]. (m²) † Τὸ δίκαιον τ[οῦ] προκ(ε)μένου ἁγίου

du manuscrit” (J. Maspero, *P.Cair.Masp.* 2, p. 59). L’argument est un peu court: je ne vois pas en quoi la présence, dans ces comptes, d’Iôannês fils de Kornêlios, connu par le *P.Cair.Masp.* 1.67111.7 comme locataire du couvent de saint Michel, prouve que c’est de l’administration de ce domaine qu’il est question dans ce codex. Le nom de ce monastère n’y apparaît nulle part. Par ailleurs, j’ai montré ailleurs (n. 2) qu’en *P.Cair.Masp.* 1.67111.7, il ne faut pas lire παρα] Ἀνρ [ω]αννου Κορνη[λιου] mais Ἀνρηλία Σοφία θυ]γατρὶ Ἰωάννου Κορνηλίου. On a là affaire à la fille d’Iôannês fils de Kornêlios et celle-ci n’est pas locataire mais propriétaire du bien-fonds loué au *topos* de saint Michel. Signalons enfin que la date proposée par Maspero doit être ramenée beaucoup plus tôt: les 2^e-3^e indictions du texte correspondent à 553/4-554/5 (ou peut-être quinze ans plus tôt: voir, sur cette incertitude chronologique, J.-L. Fournet, *AnTard* 6, 1998, 79, n. 86).

²¹ A. Hanafi, “Four Unpublished Documents of the Papyrus Collections in Cairo and Copenhagen,” *Pap.Congr.* XXI, 403-406, rééd. par J.-L. Fournet, “Du nouveau dans les archives de Dioscore,” *Pap.Congr.* XXII, 480-481.

- τόπου δι' ἐμοῦ Ἀραοῦτος
 [πρεσβ(υτέρου) καὶ οἰκονόμου στοιχεῖ] μοι ἡ ἀποχὴ ὡς πρόκ(εῖται).
 (m¹) ⁂ Κωσταντῖνος Πινουτίωνος
 8 [διάκ(ονος) τοῦ αὐτοῦ τόπου μαρτυ]ρῶ ταύτη τῇ ἀποδείξει ὡς
 πρόκειται. ⁂

1 δ;/ πρεσβς 2 θαυμας 6 προκ/ 7 προκ/

“La personne juridique du saint *topos* d’apa Michel d’Antaiopolis, représentée par moi, Haraous, prêtre et économe, au très admirable Phoibammôn fils de Triadelphos. J’ai reçu et perçu en totalité de ta part le loyer des aroures que tu occupes appartenant au saint *topos* susmentionné, pour le canon de la ... indiction, versé en blé et en orge, en vertu de la location que tu as contractée, et ce totalement. Et pour ta garantie, j’ai émis ce reçu de paiement total selon les termes susmentionnés.

(m²) La personne juridique du saint *topos* susmentionné, représentée par moi, Haraous, prêtre et économe: je suis d’accord avec le reçu selon les termes susmentionnés.

(m¹) Kôstantinos fils de Pinoutiôn, diacre: je suis témoin de cette quittance selon les termes susmentionnés.”

1 Ἀραοῦτος: Ἀραοῦς est la forme peu courante d’un nom connu sous diverses vocalisations: Ἀροῦς, Ἀραῦς, Ἀρανοῦς. On trouve à Aphrodité/Aphroditô plusieurs de ces formes concomitamment: Ἀροῦς (*PLond.* 4.1419.36, 384, 387; 1435.178 – formes lemmatisées à tort Ἄροος par Bell, corrigées en Ἀροῦ par Preisigke, *WB*),²² Ἀραοῦς (*PCair.Masp.* 1.67094.19; *PLond.* 4.1419.33). On peut se demander s’il faut rattacher à ce nom la forme Ἀρηοῦς que l’on rencontre dans le Cadastre du même village (*SB* 20.14669.49, 60, 61, 199, 258). L’étymologie permettrait de répondre à cette question, mais elle n’est pas claire. Les formes coptes enregistrées par Hasitzka, *NB Kopt.*²³ (Ⲓⲁⲣⲁⲩ, Ⲓⲁⲣⲟⲟⲩ) incitent à pourvoir ce nom, comme je le fais, d’un esprit rude, contrairement aux *NB* et *Onomasticon*. Cela pourrait orienter du côté d’un nom théophore d’Horus. E. Lüddeckens fait justement remonter Ἀρηοῦς (en même temps que Ἀρεοῦς, Ἀρεῦς, Ἀρεῶς et Ἀρηῦς) à l’égyptien *hr-iw* “Horus est venu” (*NB Dem.* 790). Mais cette étymologie ne me semble pas rendre bien compte des formes Ἀραοῦς et Ἀροῦς. Mais mon collègue Michel

²² Les formes Ἀροῦ ou Ἀραῦ qui se rencontrent dans le *PLond.* 4.1419 sont en fait des génitifs “courts” (au lieu de -ῶτος).

²³ Disponible sur http://www.onb.ac.at/sammlungen/papyrus/publ/kopt_namen.pdf.

Chauveau me propose une solution plus séduisante: il ferait remonter ce nom à l'ég. *hr-ʿw* "Horus l'Ancien" (NB *Dem.* 792, qui ne donne pas d'équivalences grecques). L'élément *ʿw* se retrouve en effet dans des noms égyptiens où il est translittéré -αυς (par exemple, dans des étiquettes de momie, *Pa-nʿ-wr-ʿw* ou *Ta-nʿ-wr-ʿw* rendus en grec respectivement Παγγοραῦς et Τανγοραῦς). Cela incite à penser qu'il y aurait eu deux noms différents, d'un côté *hr-ʿw* transcrit Ἀποοῦς, Ἀρα(υ)(ο)ῦς; de l'autre *hr-iw* transcrit Ἀρη(ο)ῦς, Ἀρεοῦς, etc.

4 [± 7 ἰνδ(ικτίονος)]: ou [± 5 ἰνδικ(τίονος)].

ἐν τε σίτῳ καὶ κριθαῖς: cette expression, qui s'applique à la nature du loyer, ne se rencontre qu'à Aphrodité (*P.Cair.Masp.* 3.67307.5-6; *P.Lond.* 5.1702.4; *P.Ross.Georg.* 3.48.4-5; Texte 3.4).

8 [διάκ(ονος) τοῦ αὐτοῦ τόπου μαρτυ]ρῶ: ou [διάκονος τοῦ αὐτοῦ μαρτυ]ρῶ (sur l'ellipse de τόπου, cf. 2.8). Μαρτυ]ρῶ correspond parfaitement aux traces, ce qui ne serait pas le cas de στοιχεῖ μ]οι (en plus, rarement suivi du datif dans les documents d'Aphrodité). Συμφω]γῶ est paléographiquement envisageable, mais cette forme est toujours suivie de l'accusatif (sauf dans *P.Stras.* 1.15.7),²⁴ sans démonstratif.

2. Quittance de loyer

P.Lond. inv. 0570 b (= SB 26.16530, rééd.)

Aphrodité, VI^p

Descr.: H 15,6 x L 16 cm. Papyrus de couleur claire à l'exception des bordures de la lacune de gauche, quelque peu brunâtres. Bords supérieur, inférieur et gauche d'origine.

Main : Kō(n)stantinos fils de Pinoutiōn.

J'ai donné une transcription de ce texte, trouvé au milieu d'autres inédits des archives de Dioscore (prises au sens strict)²⁵ dans *Pap. Congr. XXII*, 480-481 (= SB 26.16530). La découverte récente du P.Berol. inv. 25074 (1) oblige à en modifier certaines restitutions.

↓ † Τὸ δικά[ι]ον τοῦ ἀγίου τόπου ἅπα Μιχαῆλ τῇ[ς] Ἀνταίου δ(ιὰ) ἐμοῦ
Ἀραοῦτος πρεσβ(υτέρου)]
καὶ οἰκο[νόμου τ]ῷ θαυμασιωτάτῳ Φ[οιβάμμωνι Τριαδέλφου· ἔσχον
καὶ]
πεπλή[ρωμαι παρ]ὰ σοῦ τοῦ φ[όρ]ο[υ] τῶν ὑπὸ σὲ ἀρουρῶν τοῦ
προκ(ειμένου) ἀγίου]

²⁴ En *P.Batav.* 15.7, le datif est restitué; je préférerais: συμφ(ωνῶ) τ[ὴν] ἀποχὴν.

²⁵ Cf. n. 2.

- 4 τ[όπου ἔν τε σίτῳ] καὶ κριθ(αῖς) [καν(όνος) ἰνδ(ικτίονος) ἐκ πλήρους καὶ εἰς σὴν]
 ἀσφάλ[ε]ι[αν] πεποίημαί σοι ταύτην τὴν [πληρωτικὴν ἀποχὴν μεθ' ὑπο-]
 γραφῆς ἐμῆς ὡς πρόκ(ε)ται. (m²) † Τὸ δίκαιον [τοῦ προκ(ειμένου) ἀγίου τόπου δι' ἐμοῦ]
 Ἀραοῦτος πρεσβ(υτέρου) καὶ οἰκονόμου στ[οιχεῖ μοι ἡ ἀποχὴ ὡς πρό(κειται).]
 8 (m1) † Κωσταντίνος διάκ(ονος) τοῦ αὐτοῦ στ[οιχεῖ μοι ἡ ἀποχὴ ὡς πρό(κειται).]

4 κριθ, 6 προκ/° (sic) 7 πρεσβ, 8 διακ; l. στοιχεῖ

Handwritten Greek text in two fragments, likely a lease agreement. The top fragment is on a separate piece of paper, and the bottom fragment is on a larger piece of paper. Both are written in a cursive script.

Top fragment (separate piece of paper):

ἔστω δὲ καὶ τὸ ἀποδοτέον, ἡ δὲ ἀποχὴ
 ἀσφάλ[ε]ι[αν] πεποίημαί σοι ταύτην τὴν
 πληρωτικὴν ἀποχὴν μεθ' ὑπο-
 γραφῆς ἐμῆς ὡς πρόκ(ε)ται.

Bottom fragment (larger piece of paper):

ἔστω δὲ καὶ τὸ ἀποδοτέον, ἡ δὲ ἀποχὴ
 ἀσφάλ[ε]ι[αν] πεποίημαί σοι ταύτην τὴν
 πληρωτικὴν ἀποχὴν μεθ' ὑπο-
 γραφῆς ἐμῆς ὡς πρόκ(ε)ται.

“La personne juridique du saint *topos* d’apa Michel d’Antaiopolis, représentée par moi, Haraous, prêtre et économe, au très admirable Phoibammôn fils de Triadelphos. J’ai reçu et perçu en totalité de ta part le loyer des aroures que tu occupes appartenant au saint *topos* susmentionné, versé en blé et en orge, pour le canon de la ... indiction, et ce totalement. Et pour ta garantie, j’ai émis ce reçu de paiement total, accompagné de ma souscription, selon les termes susmentionnés.

(m²) La personne juridique du saint *topos* susmentionné, représentée par moi, Haraous, prêtre et économe: je suis d’accord avec le reçu selon les termes susmentionnés.

(m¹) Kôstantinos, diacre du même (saint *topos*): je suis d’accord avec le reçu selon les termes susmentionnés.”

4 κριθ(αῖς): à la rigueur κριθαῖ[ς.

[καν(όνος) ἰνδ(ικτίονος) ἐκ πλήρους καὶ εἰς σὴν]: d’après les autres lignes, la lacune contenait environ 31 lettres. C’est trop peu pour [τὴν δύναμιν τῆς σῆς μισθώσεως ἐκ πλήρους καὶ εἰς σὴν] qu’imposeraient 1.4-5, même en faisant l’économie de ἐκ πλήρους. On pourrait opter pour une restitution courte du type ἀκολουθῶς τῇ μισθώσει κτλ. (qui serait trop longue avec ἐκ πλήρους et trop courte sans). De toute façon, il manque cet élément indispensable qu’est la date. La lacune à la fin de la l. 3 et au tout début de la 4 me paraissant trop courte, je ne vois que cet endroit pour contenir cette information.

8 τοῦ αὐτοῦ: on attendrait τόπου, ici drastiquement sous-entendu, ou tout simplement omis.

στι[χεῖ : à la rigueur στ[ο]ι[χεῖ.

ἡ ἀποχή: j’ai suivi 3.10, mais on pourrait aussi adopter, comme restitution, le texte de 1.8 (on aurait alors ἡ ἀπόδειξις).

3. Quittance de loyer

P.Vat.Aphrod. 11 (rééd.)

Aphrodité, VI^p

Pl.: *P.Vat.Aphrod.*, Tav. IV

Descr.: H 12,4 x L 28 cm. Traces d’une *kollêsis* le long du bord inférieur. Bords inférieur et droit d’origine.

Main: Kô(n)stantinos fils de Pinoutiôn.

Ce reçu se distingue des précédents par la présence d’un second personnage représentant le *topos*: le *diadokhos* Kôstantinos (à distinguer de son homonyme qui rédige le document). Sur son rôle, je renvoie au commentaire à la l. 8.

↓[]
[τῷ θαυμασ(ιωτάτῳ) Φοιβάμμωνι Τριαδέλφον· ἐσχή]καμεν καὶ πεπ[λ]η-
ρώμεθα

[παρά σοῦ τοῦ φόρου τῶν ὑπὸ σέ ἀρουρῶν τοῦ] προκειμένου
[ἀγίου τόπου]

- 4 [κανόνος ἰνδ(ικτίονος) ἔν τε σίτ]ω κ[αί] κριθαῖς κατ[ὰ τὴν] δύναμιν
[τῆς σῆς μι]θώσεως ἐκ πλήρου]ς καὶ εἰς σὴν ἀσφάλειαν πεποιήμεθα
ταύτην τὴν πληρωτικὴν ἀπ[οχὴν ὥ]ς πρόκ(ε)ται. (m²) † Τὸ δίκαιον τοῦ
προκ(ειμένου)
ἀγίου τόπου δι' ἑμοῦ Ἀραοῦτος πρεσβ(υτέρου) στοιχεῖ μοι τοῦτο
8 [ῆ] ἀποχὴ ὥς πρόκ(ε)ται. (m^{3?}) Κωσταντίνος Ἰωάννου διάδ(οχος)
[σ]τιχθεῖ μοι τοῦτο ἡ ἀποχὴ ὥς πρόκ(ε)ται. (m¹) † Κωσταντίνος
διάκ(ονος) στοιχεῖ μοι
[ῆ] ἀποχὴ ὥς πρόκ(ε)ται.

5 πεποιημεθα: alt. ε ex αι corr. 6 προκ/ 7 πρεσβς; l. αὕτη 8 προκ/;
ἰωαννου; διαδ/ 9 l. στοιχεῖ μοι αὕτη; προκ/; διακ/ 10 προκ/.

“[La personne juridique du saint *topos* d’apa Michel d’Antaiopolis, représentée par nous, Haraous, prêtre, et Kôstantinos fils d’Iôannês, *diadokhos*, au très admirable Phoibammôn fils de Triadelphos.]²⁶ Nous avons reçu et perçu en totalité de ta part le loyer des aroures que tu occupes appartenant au saint *topos* susmentionné, pour le canon de la ... indiction, versé en blé et en orge, en vertu de la location que tu as contractée, et ce totalement. Et pour ta garantie, j’ai émis ce reçu de paiement total selon les termes susmentionnés.

(m²) La personne juridique du saint *topos* susmentionné, représentée par moi, Haraous, prêtre: je suis d'accord avec ce reçu selon les termes susmentionnés.

(m³?) Kôstantinos fils d'Iôannês, *diadokhos*: je suis d'accord avec ce reçu selon les termes susmentionnés.

(m¹) Kôstantinos, diacre: je suis d'accord avec le reçu selon les termes susmentionnés."

1 La quittance commençait une ligne plus haut. Il faut restituer † Τὸ δίκαιον τοῦ ἁγίου τόπου ἅπα Μιχαὴλ τῆς Ἀνταιοπολιτῶν δ(ιὰ) ἡμῶν Ἀραοῦτος πρεσβυτέρου καὶ Κωσταντίνου Ἰωάννου διαδόγου *vel sim.*

²⁶ Pour cette restitution, cf. comm. à la l. 1.

2 ἐσχ[ή]καμεν: ἐδε]ξάμεν éd. pr. Ma lecture est garantie par 1.2 et permet d'éviter de faire commettre un barbarisme à Kôstantinos. Le pluriel tient à la double subrogation.

3-4 [παρὰ σοῦ τοῦ φόρου τῶν ὑπὸ σὲ ἀρουρῶν τοῦ] προκειμένου [ἀγίου τόπου] | [κανόνος ἰνδικ(τίονος): [παρὰ σοῦ τοῦ φόρου τοῦ ὑπὸ σὲ] προκειμένου [γεωργίου . . .] . . | [διακειμένου ἐν πεδιάδι κώμης ... éd. pr.

4-5 ἔν τε σίτ]φ κ[αί] κριθαῖς κατ[ὰ τὴν] δύναμιν | [τῆς σῆς μ]ι[σθώσεως; ἔν τε σίτ]φ καί] κριθαῖς κατοκ [± 3] δύναμιν | [ὑπὲρ] κ[ανόνος ... ἰνδικ(τίονος) éd. pr. Κατοκ, lu par le précédent éditeur, ne fait pas sens: les deux dernières lettres sont sur un petit fragment qui me semble mal raccordé et que je place plus haut dans la ligne (σίτ]φ κ[αί]).

6 Τὸ δίκαιον: δίκαιον éd. pr.

7 δι' ἐμοῦ Ἀραοῦτος: BL 8:503 corrigeant le δι(ὰ) Μαραοῦτος de l'éd. pr. On notera qu'Haraous n'est pas dit ici économe mais seulement prêtre. Voir comm. à la l. 8.

7-8 τοῦτο | [ή] ἀποχή: τοῦτο[υ ή] | ἀποχή éd. pr. Même erreur à la l. 9, où le premier éditeur a lu aussi τοῦτο[υ]. Dans le second cas, il n'y a pas de place pour un υ et, dans le premier, le papyrus, à cet endroit bien conservé, ne semble pas comporter de traces après τουτο. Si le génitif n'était pas sans poser problème (le premier éditeur pensait qu'il renvoyait à φόρου, ce qui est curieux et nullement attesté dans ce type de formule), la lecture que je propose est encore plus dérangement: la juxtaposition d'un démonstratif neutre à un substantif féminin (τοῦτο ή ἀποχή au lieu de αὕτη ή ἀποχή) est des plus étranges et ne peut être explicable ni phonétiquement ni morphologiquement. Il est encore plus troublant de rencontrer cette erreur commise par deux mains censées être différentes (mais cf. comm. à la l. 8).

8 Κωσταντῖνος Ἰωάννου διάδ(οχος): Κωσταντῖνος Ἰωάννου διάκ(ονος) éd. pr. Ce personnage n'est pas autrement connu; c'est le seul reçu de la série où il intervient.

Selon le premier éditeur, la souscription de Kôstantinos est d'une main différente de celle d'Haraous qui précède immédiatement. J'hésite à être aussi affirmatif dans la mesure où on a affaire dans les deux souscriptions à une cursive peu habile, difficile à différencier, et que l'on retrouve dans chacune la même erreur (τοῦτο ή ἀποχή) qui va fortement dans le sens d'une main identique; on remarquera d'ailleurs l'absence de croix entre les deux souscriptions. D'un autre côté, la formulation des souscriptions me semble aller à l'encontre de cette solution: Kôstantinos signe au même titre qu'Haraous, sans être l'*hypographeus* de ce dernier (contrairement à la situation du SPP 20.269.19). Tous

deux sont représentants du *topos*, comme l'indique sans équivoque le pluriel des verbes de perception (l. 2). On ne peut donc interpréter le terme inhabituel de διάδοχος comme si Kôstantinos représentait ici Haraous.²⁷

Le mot διάδοχος peut avoir, on le sait, plusieurs sens: "représentant" ou "successeur." Ici, la valeur à donner au terme n'est *a priori* pas claire, d'autant qu'on ne sait pas de qui Kôstantinos est le *diadokhos*: du *topos* ou d'Haraous? On notera cependant que la souscription de ce *diadokhos*, absente de 1-2, apparaît précisément dans un reçu où Haraous n'est pas désigné comme οἰκονόμος (comme dans 1-2). On pourrait penser à une omission de la part d'Haraous tandis que le titre complet πρεσβύτερος καὶ οἰκονόμος aurait été donné dans le protocole du reçu; mais celui-ci est en lacune. J'incline à penser que c'est justement parce qu'Haraous n'est plus économe que sa souscription est accompagnée de celle d'un *diadokhos*. Aussi pourrait-il être tentant de voir dans Kôstantinos le successeur d'Haraous comme économe. On peut néanmoins se demander pourquoi Haraous apparaît encore dans ce reçu et pourquoi Kôstantinos n'est tout simplement pas désigné comme οἰκονόμος – à moins que la transmission de l'économat n'ait pas encore été totalement effective. Comme dans les confréries et, semble-t-il, dans certains monastères, le *diadokhos* désigne peut-être tout simplement ici le « vicaire » de celui qui dirige l'établissement²⁸ – ce qui reviendrait à faire de Kôstantinos le représentant de l'économe étant donné le rôle-clé que ce personnage jouait dans certaines églises, bien au-delà de la simple sphère économique.²⁹ Quoi qu'il en soit, on aurait peut-être là un indice qui permettrait de dater ce reçu postérieurement à 1-2.

²⁷ Comme ce pourrait être le cas, par exemple, dans BGU 19.2796, reçu signé par Φαῦστος ἐλάχι(στος) μονάζ(ων) (καὶ) διάδοχ(ος). Selon l'éditeur, ce moine agit peut-être comme représentant de l'économe.

²⁸ Pour les confréries, cf. J. Gascou, "Un nouveau document sur les confréries chrétiennes: P.Strasb. copte inv. K 41," dans A. Boud'hors, J. Gascou et D. Vaillancourt (éd.), *Études coptes IX. Onzièmes journées d'études* (Paris 2006) 167-177, notamment p. 170. Pour les monastères, cf. W.E. Crum dans *P.Lond.Copt.* 1, p. 426b, n. 5, au sujet de *diadokhos*: "Presumably the abbot's successor designate." Cette remarque, souvent répétée (cf. Förster, WB, s.v. διάδοχος 1) mériterait d'être étayée. G. Schmelz ne fait pas un cas particulier du *diadokhos* dans son *Kirchliche Amtsträger im spätantiken Ägypten nach den Aussagen der griechischen und koptischen Papyri und Ostraka* (Munich et Leipzig 2002).

²⁹ Voir J. Gascou dans sa traduction de Sophrone de Jérusalem, *Miracles des saints Cyr et Jean* (Paris 2006) 38, n. 183, qui montre, d'après les exemples du sanctuaire des saints Cyr et Jean à Ménouthis et celui de saint-Ménas du Maréote, que l'économe était plus qu'un administrateur économique, mais bien "en réalité [le] directeur général de l'établissement, avec des responsabilités matérielles (...), mais aussi liturgiques."

9 [στ]ιχ>εῖ : [στ]οι[χ]εῖ éd. pr. Le χ ne me semble pas en lacune mais avoir été oublié. Cf. Gignac, *Gram.* 1:98 pour d'autres exemples de chute du χ (Gignac hésite entre une explication phonétique ou un *lapsus calami*).

(m¹) : (m⁴) éd. pr.

*Compromissum*¹

Traianos Gagos *University of Michigan*

For Jim Keenan: friend, collaborator, and mentor,
for his inspiring scholarship, humanity, and humility.
ἔρρωσο, ὑγαίειναι καὶ διδάσκει εἰς ἔτη πολλά.

Abstract

A *compromissum* between Flavius Cyrillus, a *stratelates* from Arsinoe, and Apollos, son of a deceased Phoebammon, to appoint a certain Theodoros, deacon and estate manager of Heraiskos, another *stratelates*, as arbiter in a dispute concerning the rendering of accounts by Apollos.

P.Corn. inv. II 48² is written along the fibers of the papyrus. With the exception of a ca. 1 cm margin on the left, there is virtually no blank papyrus. Damage on the left side (mostly the top and middle sections) and several vertical creases suggest that the papyrus was at one time folded from the right to the left, exposing the latter side to wear and tear. The back contains a docket.

At least two scribes were involved in the writing of this document: The first wrote the invocations and date (ll. 1-5), and the second was responsible for the body (ll. 6-24). Then, perhaps a third individual made some minor corrections using brown ink (ll. 10, 13, and 17). Palaeographically, the first hand is much more fluid, practiced, and orthographic, while the second appears to be somewhat hesitant and less experienced. The presence of two hands in the body of the document is a bit odd, but not unparalleled, since this feature is recorded in several Arsinoite and a few Heracleopolite documents of late date (mostly from the end of the sixth and the beginning of the seventh centuries).

¹ I wish to thank J.-L. Fournet and N. Gonis for making articles available to me ahead of publication. For information and suggestions thanks are due to B. Palme, T. Hickey, N. Gonis, S. Kovarik, and N. Litinas. I am responsible for all remaining inaccuracies and deficiencies.

² The papyrus was acquired by Cornell University in 1922 from M. Nahman through the “cartel” that was run by the British Museum.

As J.-L. Fournet argues convincingly in a forthcoming article, the opening of the documents (mostly agreements, as in our case) was mass-produced because of its formulaic nature by clerks/scribes in the notary's office, and the body was added later by a different scribe or the notary himself.³

The document is an agreement for arbitration (*compromissum*) between Flavius Cyrillus, a *stratelates* from Arsinoe (a man known from several Arsinoite documents, see 6n. below), and Apollos, son of a deceased Phoebammon. The parties agree to choose a certain Theodoros, deacon and estate manager (διοικητής) of Heraiskos, another *stratelates*, as arbiter in a dispute that has arisen between the parties regarding the rendering of accounts by Apollos while he was administering the property of Fl. Cyrillus. The parties agree to honor the decision of Theodoros and stipulate a fine of twelve gold coins for a breach. Apollos must also have been a διοικητής in the service of Fl. Cyrillus. This is not stated explicitly but is implied by the use of the verb διοικέω in l. 14.

Although the body of the document states that both parties sign at the end in their own hand (ll. 8-9) and is written in language that reflects common agreement (ll. 9, 16, 17, and 19), only Apollos actually signs at the bottom (for an explanation see below).

A *compromissum* was a written, preliminary agreement in which two disputing parties decided to choose an arbiter of common acceptance and abide by his decision. Its goal was not to record a detailed account of the conflict. Thus, our *compromissum* contains only a general statement about problematic bookkeeping by Apollos (l. 13). The main emphasis is placed on the stipulation of twelve gold *solidi* (a pretty respectable amount) as penalty for the evading party. "Without these penal stipulations the agreement had no legal force, and the usual view has been that they in fact constituted the *compromissum*."⁴

The document reflects not simply a private dispute between Fl. Cyrillus and Apollos, but rather one that arises in the context of conducting business. The choice of Theodoros as arbiter is obviously not accidental and sheds some

³ See his introduction to "P.Stras. V 318 complété. La grande *philoponia* d'Héracléopolis et les protocoles en cursive inclinée" (forthcoming).

⁴ P. Stein in his review of F. Talamanca, *Ricerche in tema di "compromissum"* (Milan 1958) in *JRS* 51 (1961) 247. For a more recent study on the subject see K.-H. Ziegler, *Das private Schiedsgericht im antiken römischen Recht* (Munich 1971) *passim*. For conflict resolution and out-of-court settlements in general, see T. Gagos and P. van Minnen, *Settling a Dispute: Toward a Legal Anthropology of Late Antique Egypt* (Ann Arbor 1994) 30-46, esp. 32 for the difference between *compromissa* and out-of-court settlement agreements. See also J. Harries, *Law and Empire in Late Antiquity* (Cambridge 1999) 172-190, esp. 176-179 on the *compromissum*.

light on how local magnates handled such disputes. First, he is a διοικητής and hence an “expert” in the matter that has caused the conflict, i.e. the rendering of accounts. Secondly, he is in the service of another local magnate, probably familiar to both Fl. Cyrillus and Apollos, and, thus, probably a person of trust. Thirdly, he is a Christian deacon, and this might have underscored his trustworthiness. Although in theory the arbiter in a *compromissum* was acceptable to both parties, it goes without saying that Fl. Cyrillus probably had the upper hand in this matter because he was the “stronger” party. The description of the cause for the dispute (ll. 12-16) is vague, but it leaves no doubt that Apollos was a financial steward in Cyrillus’ service. Hence, it is probably neither accidental that the document lacks Fl. Cyrillus’ signature at its end, nor likely that it appeared in another copy of the agreement; its absence is a corollary of the difference in social standing between the two men. Fl. Cyrillus was a member of the provincial elite and Apollos one of his many underlings. It would not be surprising if a second copy of the *compromissum* bearing Cyrillus’ signature was never actually produced.⁵

The difference in social standing between the two parties in this document does not, however, emerge as a pattern in the surviving *compromissa*. There are indeed other cases where one party is a Flavius and the other an Aurelius (e.g., *SB* 1.5266), but more frequently we encounter parties of the same class or even profession (e.g., *BGU* 1.315; *CPR* 6.7; *P.Prag.* 1.48, 49; *SB* 1.5681, 8.9775), who on occasion (as in our document) appoint “expert” arbiters that belong to the same profession as one or both parties (e.g., *SB* 1.5681, two dyers appoint a dyer; *BGU* 1.315, a fuller and a small-scale tradesman/inn-keeper appoint an arbiter of the latter class). This of course makes good sense when a conflict arises over business matters.

The dispute between the two men in our document may have arisen from a deficit in Apollos’ accounts. Estate managers on the large estates of Oxyrhynchus operated under contracts with the landowners. One of their contractual obligations was to pay any deficiency found in their accounts from their own pockets (see, e.g., *P.Oxy.* 1.136, a contract of a προνοητής, and 58.3952, a contract with an ἐνοικιολόγος). The situation was probably similar on the

⁵ Unfortunately most of the approximately twenty surviving *compromissa* on papyrus are badly damaged, lacking the end section with the signatures. Only six preserve the signatures (fully or in part). In five instances at least one party involved signed the agreement (*SB* 1.5681; *P.Lond.* 3.992, p. 253; *SB* 6.9463; *P.Prag.* 1.49; and *P.Lond.* 2.456, p. 335), but in one case (written in the first-person plural) no party actually signed (*BGU* 1.315), although the document was authenticated at the bottom by the *symbolaiographos*. No duplicate *compromissa* (one for each party) are extant. For more on the structure of this type of document, see the note on ll. 6ff. below.

estates of the Arsinoite nome and, hence, for Apollos, although no such contract has survived for a διοικητής. Yet, there might be more than a contractual obligation reflected in our story. It is possible that in 596 Cyrillus was still rather young and inexperienced (this is his earliest securely dated appearance, see 6n. below) and that Apollos, perhaps older with several years on the job, attempted to take advantage of the “green” Cyrillus. Unfortunately, the *compromissum* does not record the complete “drama.”

The notary Panouphios whose name appears at the end of our text is attested in eighteen documents, including the present one (six already mentioned in J.M. Diethart and K.A. Worp, *Notarsunterschriften im byzantinischen Ägypten* [Vienna 1986] s.v. Arsinoites 16.2.1-6). He has been the subject of an MA thesis at the University of Vienna by Sophie Kovarik (*Das Archiv des Panouphios*; publication in preparation).⁶

Arsinoe

16.5 cm x 31.8 cm

October 5, AD 596

- (m. 1) [†] ἐν ὀνόματι τοῦ κυρίου καὶ δεσπότου Ἰησοῦ Χ(ριστο)ῦ
[το]ῦ Θεοῦ καὶ Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν, βασιλείας τοῦ
[θ(ε)ο]τάτου καὶ εὐσεβ(εστάτου) ἡμῶν δεσπότου Φλ(αυίου)
Μαυρικίου
4 [Τι]βερίου τοῦ αἰωνίου Αὐγούστου ἔτους πεντεκαι-
[δεκ]άτου Φαῶφι ὀγδόῃ πεντεκαιδεκάτης ἰν(δικτίωνος) ἐν
Ἀρ(σινοϊτῶν πόλει).
(m. 2) [Φ]λ(αυίος) Κύριλλος ὁ ἐνδοξ(ότατος) στρατηλάτης καὶ
[Ἀπ]ολλῶς ὁ θαυμασιώτατος υἱὸς τοῦ
8 [μα]καρίου Φοιβάμμωνος ἐξῆς ὑπογράφον ἑτες´
[ιδι]α χειρὶ χ(αίρειν). ὁμολογοῦμεν ἑκουσίᾳ γνώμῃ
[αἰρ]ήσα[σ]θαι Θεόδωρον τὸν εὐλαβέστατο(ν)
διάκονον, διοικητὴν Ἡραΐσκου τοῦ
12 ἐνδοξοτάτ[ου] στρατηλάτου, περὶ τῆς
λογοποιείας τῶν μεταξὺ ἡμῶν λογαρίω(ν)
[ὑ]πὲρ ἧς ἐδιοίκησεν Ἀπολλῶς
[ὁ] θαυμασιώτατος οὐσίας τοῦ αὐτοῦ
16 [ἐ]νδοξοτάτου ἀνδρός, καὶ στέργειν ἡμᾶς
τῇ διδομένῃ ἡμῖν ἀπαλλαγῇ[ν] παρὰ

⁶ As Ms. Kovarik informs me, all of the documents, with the exception of the present one, were discovered in the late 1800s (during the so-called 1. Arsinoitischer Fund) and were dispersed between the collections in Vienna, Paris, and Berlin. It is possible that the Cornell papyrus was discovered during the same period in clandestine diggings, and that it was subsequently sold to M. Nahman (see n. 2).

- 20 τοῦ αὐτ[οῦ] εὐλαβεστάτου ἀνδρός, εἰ δέ τις
 ἐξ ἡμ[ῶ]ν μὴ στέρξη τῇ ἀπαλλαγῇ τοῦ αὐτοῦ
 εὐλαβεστάτου Θεοδώρου ὥστε τὸν μὴ
 στέργοντα διδόναι τῷ στέργοντι λόγῳ
 προστίμου χρυσοῦ νομίσματα δώδεκα,
 24 χρ(υσοῦ) νο(μίσματα) ἱβ ἀναμφιβόλως, κύριον τὸ κομ-
 πρόμισσον καὶ ἐπερ(ωτηθέντες) ὦμ(ολογήσαμεν) †.
 (m. 3) † Ἀπολλῶς υἱὸς τοῦ
 μακαρ(ιωτάτου) Φοιβάμμ(ωνος) στειχοῖ μοι τοῦτο τό κομπρόμισσον
 τῶν δώδεκα νομισμάτων καὶ ὑπέγραψα χειρὶ ἐμῇ <καὶ>
 διέλυσα †
 28 (m. 4) δι' emu Panufiu δι' ἐμοῦ Πανουφίου
 traces

Back, downwards, along the fibers:

† κομπρ(όμισσον) γενόμ(ενον) μεταξὺ Κυρίλλου τοῦ ἐνδοξο(τάτου)
 στρατηλ(άτου) (καὶ) Ἀπολλῶ τοῦ θαυμασ(ιωτάτου) †

1 ἱησου χ[†] 3 ευσεβς, φλ^s 5 ιvs, αρ, 6 [φ]λ, ενδοξς: abbr. mark corr.
 from *omega* 9 χ_s 10 θεοδωρον: last *omicron* corr. from *omega* in differ-
 ent ink 12 λογοποιείας: second *omicron* corr. from *omega* in different
 ink 21 l. τῷ 23 χρ/ ν^ο 24 επερρ/ ωμ_s 25 μακαρ, φοιβαμμ; l. στοιχεῖ,
 κομπρόμισσον Back: κομπρ, γενομ_s, ενδοξος στρατηλ S, θαυμασ,

“[First hand] In the name of the lord and master Jesus Christ, our God and
 Savior, in the reign of our most godly and most reverend master, Flavius Mau-
 ricius Tiberius, the eternal Augustus, year fifteen, Phaophi eighth, fifteenth
 indiction in the city of the Arsinoites.

[Second hand] Flavius Cyrillus, the most glorious *magister militum*, and
 Apollos, the most admirable, son of the blessed Phoebammon, signing below
 in their own hand, greeting. We acknowledge of free will to choose Theodorus,
 the most pious deacon, estate manager of Heraiskos, the most glorious *magister
 militum*, concerning the rendering of the accounts between us for the property
 of the said most glorious man which the most admirable Apollos administered,
 and to be content with the resolution granted to us by the said most pious
 man. But if one of us is not content with the resolution of the said most pious
 Theodorus, the discontented party will give to the contented as a fine twelve
 gold *solidi*, 12 gold *solidi* unambiguously. The *compromissum* is valid and hav-
 ing been asked the formal question we have consented.

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[Third hand] I, Apollos, son of the most blessed Phoebammon – this *compromissum* of the twelve gold solidi satisfies me, and I signed in my own hand and settled.

[Fourth hand] Through me Panouphios.”

Title on the back: “*Compromissum* made between Cyrillus, the most glorious *magister militum* and Apollos, the most admirable.”

1-2 This invocation formula is standard in the reign of Mauricius, and this document is its latest witness; see *CSBE*² 100 and 290.

2-4 The regnal formula conforms to the pattern for the Arsinoite nome (without [post]- consulate), but omits *καὶ αὐτοκράτορος*; see *CSBE*² 52 and 263 (no. 8).

6 The partly damaged abbreviation at the beginning of the line must have been meant in the singular (Φλάουιος), thus referring only to Cyrillus. Apollos does not bear a *gentilicium* here (l. 7) or in l. 24 and, if he did, he would have been styled Aurelius to reflect his lower-class standing.

Flavius Cyrillus, the *stratelates* (= *magister militum*), is attested in several papyri from the early 7th century. This is his earliest securely dated occurrence. He was a landowner residing in Arsinoe; see the relevant documents listed in *CPR* 10.127, appendix (pp. 153-154), Diethart, *Prosopographia Arsinoitica* #3161 (p. 187), and *PLRE* 3A, Cyrillus 6 (p. 373). Unlike several other *stratelatai* he did not hold the office of *pagarchos*; see K.A. Worp, “Στρατηλάται und πάγαρχοι im byzantinisch-arabischen Fajum,” *CPR* 10, pp. 153-156. According to J. Banaji, *στρατηλάται* that did not hold the title of *πάγαρχος* were of inferior status; see *Agrarian Change in Late Antiquity* (Oxford 2001) 139 and 156. For some of the better-known people of this class, see N. Gonis, “Two Notes on the Aristocracy of Byzantine Fayum” (forthcoming). The usual title for this class of people was *ἐνδοξότατος*, which was often honorary, as here (see *CPR* 24.30.5n.). In this agreement, Fl. Cyrillus does not act in an official capacity, but as a landowner (ll. 15-16).

To my knowledge, people of this class (or higher) are never identified with a patronymic, as here.

6ff. Most of the Arsinoite *compromissa* follow the formula *τόδε τὸ κομπρόμισσον ποιοῦνται πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς ... ἐκ μὲν τοῦ ἐνὸς μέρους X, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ ἑτέρου Y* (*BGU* 1.315; *SB* 1.5271, 5681, 14.12194, 24.15899, and perhaps *BGU* 1.314). Our document is structured on the model of *P.Prag.* 1.48 and 49, both of which were drawn up in Arsinoe.

7-8 No other Apollos with a deceased father Phoebammon and the honorific θαυμασιώτατος can be securely identified in papyri from late-period Arsinoe. The title (typical of estate managers) suggests that he was a low-ranking officer in the administration; see H. Zilliacus, *Untersuchungen zu den abstracten Anredeformen und Höflichkeitstiteln im Griechischen* (Helsinki 1949) 84-85.

10 αἰρήσασθαι: the form is odd for Classical Greek, but it is found in two other Arsinoite *compromissa*, BGU 1.315.10 (AD 612 or 627: CSBE² 106-107, and cf. N. Gonis, *ZPE* 141, 2002, 165-168) and SB 1.5681.26 (AD 654 or 669: see *ZPE* 134, 2001, 176), and the *TLG* records an additional 16 instances in sources from the fourth century AD onwards.

11-12 Clerics and monks, including deacons, often appear in the service of lay people involved in everyday activities; see J.P. Thomas, *Private and Religious Foundations in the Byzantine Empire* (Washington 1987) 69-71, and G. Schmelz, *Kirchliche Amtsträger in spätantiken Ägypten* (Leipzig 2002), esp. 241-254. Local landowners and magnates like Heraiskos often founded private monasteries and churches, but it is not possible to determine if Theodoros served in one of them.

On the office of διοικητής see E.R. Hardy, *The Large Estates of Byzantine Egypt* (New York 1931) 80-81 and 85-87.

A *stratelates* named Heraiskos is not known from other papyri or literary sources. The personal name is rare in this period and is encountered here for the first time in a Fayumic papyrus.

13 Although the verb λογοποιῶμαι is not unusual in literature and the papyri, the noun λογοποιία is found only in four other late documents (*P.Apoll.* 6.3, *P.Lond.* 4.1339.15, 1416.v.C.26 [abbr.] and *P.Lond.* 5.1660.20), always in accounting contexts and meaning “rendering of accounts” (see LSJ s.v. and WB s.v.). The phrasing in this line is a bit awkward and redundant, since λόγος (“account”) appears twice, both as the prefix of λογοποιία and on its own in diminutive form (λογάρια). Accordingly, I suggest that the entire expression λογοποιία τῶν λογαρίων be translated as “rendering of accounts.” The term λογοθεσία (= “auditing procedure”) that appears in labor contracts of stewards and rent-collectors (see, e.g., *P.Oxy.* 58.3958.31) must be equivalent to this expression.

The insertion of μεταξύ ἡμῶν (“between us”) is also awkward. Ultimately, what the scribe is probably trying to convey is that Fl. Cyrillus found a discrepancy in the rendering of Apollos’ accounts (the cause of the actual dispute). In

this respect, the choice of Theodoros, a man with experience in accounting, makes much sense.

18-23 εἰ + subjunctive in the protasis is rare in the Ptolemaic period but becomes increasingly common in the papyri from the second century AD onwards; see J.H. Moulton, *A Grammar of New Testament Greek*, vol. 3: *Syntax*, by N. Turner (Edinburgh 1963) 116, and H.C. Youtie, *Scriptiunculae* 1 (Amsterdam 1973) 393.

διδόναι alone would have been sufficient as the *apodosis* of the conditional. In some *compromissa* we find ἐνέχεσθαι διδόναι (e.g., BGU 1.315.19-20, *P.Prag.* 1.49.24-25). In our papyrus the preceding ὥστε suggests that the scribe had a similar structure in mind, perhaps involving a verb meaning “to make” or “to force” as the *apodosis* proper, which he omitted, though retaining its consecutive action; see R. Kühner and B. Gerth, *Ausführliche Grammatik der griechischen Sprache*, vol. 2.2 (Hannover 1904) § 584a. Similar must be the case also in SB 1.5681.34-37: εἰ δέ τις ἐκ τῶν μερῶν μὴ στέρξῃ τῇ αὐτῶν κρ[ι]σει, ἐπὶ τῷ τὸ παραβαῖνον μέρος διδό[ν]αι τῷ στέργοντι λόγῳ προστίμου χρυσίου νομίσματα ὀκτῷ ῥυπαρά; see also ll. 14-15 of my forthcoming piece in *P.Oxy.* 73.

For the penalty clause in *compromissa*, see A. Berger, *Die Strafklauseln in den Papyruskunden* (Leipzig and Berlin 1911) 212–217. For the importance of the πρόστιμον (Lat. *poena*) and the amounts stipulated in out-of-court settlements in late antique Egypt, see *P.Mich.Aphrod.* 84n. As in our text, twelve *solidi* were stipulated rather regularly and might have been considered a kind of standard in disputes.

23-24 For the documents recording a *compromissum*, see S. Daris, *Il lessico latino nel greco d’Egitto* (Barcelona 1991) s.v. SB 22.15764 records the term, but the document is in fact the decision of an arbiter, similar to *P.Paramone* 16-17.

28-29 The signature is in the same hand as SB 6.9588.15 = Diethart and Worp, *Notarsunterschriften* 16.2.4 (p. 46 and Taf. 12).

Further Letters from the Archive of Apa Ioannes

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Abstract

Publication of five papyrus letters in Greek, of which three certainly and two possibly belong to the archive of Apa Ioannes.

The Archive of Apa Ioannes¹ is a group of letters in Greek² and in Coptic³ mostly addressed to an influential monk of this name, active somewhere in Upper Egypt at the close of the fourth century. Five new texts are published below; in 1-3 Ioannes is mentioned by name, while 4-5 may be associated with the archive on account of phraseology and content.

The historical and cultural context of this archive has been sketched, albeit briefly, in the studies mentioned in n. 1; with a full re-edition of the archive under way, it seems sensible not to offer further contextual comment. I will

¹ The Greek and Coptic parts of the archive were first brought together by P. van Minnen, "The Roots of Egyptian Christianity," *APF* 40 (1994) 81-84. C. Zuckerman, "The Hapless Recruit Psois and the Mighty Anchorite Apa John," *BASP* 32 (1995) 188-194, added further detail, and suggested that Ioannes was to be identified with John of Lycopolis. M. Choat, "The Archive of Apa Johannes: Notes on a Proposed New Edition," *Pap. Congr. XXV*, 1:175-183, offers the latest update (the texts edited here receive brief mention on p. 180, n. 23) and investigates the origins of the collections to which the papyri belong.

² *P.Herm.* 7-10, 17, *P.Lond.* 3.981 (p. 241), *P.Lond.* 3.1014 descr. = *SB* 18.13612; *P.Amh.* 2.145 = *W.Chr.* 53 is a letter written by Apa Ioannes. It is less likely that *SB* 14.11882, tentatively associated with the archive by Choat (n. 1) 180, has anything to do with it; the Ioannes who is the recipient of the letter is not addressed in terms that would point to a monk or other clergyman.

³ *P.Ryl.Copt.* 268-274, 276, and most probably a few other letters in the same collection, i.e., 275, 292, 301, 310-314, 352, 396 (see Choat [n. 1] 179); *P.Mich. inv.* 6626 (ined.); and perhaps *P.Lond.Copt.* 1.1123, re-ed. M. Choat and I. Gardner, *ZPE* 156 (2006) 157-164.

only discuss its acquisition history, which has to a certain extent remained elusive.

These papyri are part of the collection from which the papyri published by B.R. Rees in *P.Herm.* came,⁴ and which produced most of the Greek items of the archive.⁵ Little is known with certainty of the collection's origin, other than that the papyri were acquired by Grenfell and/or Hunt not later than 1907, the last time these two were in Egypt together.⁶ Though kept with the papyri found in the excavations sponsored by the Egypt Exploration Fund (= EEF), there is no evidence that they were purchased on behalf of the EEF, which, after all, only financed excavations. Grenfell was already a busy private dealer in papyri by the time he began his partnership with Hunt.⁷ Among other things, Grenfell and Hunt were commissioned to acquire papyri for private collectors such as Lord Amherst and the Earl of Crawford. They did not or could not sell everything they had brought to England. The boxes that contained these papyri were housed in the same rooms as the boxes with papyri excavated on behalf of the EEF. After Hunt's death, his widow donated his private papyrus

⁴ The papyri are kept in the Papyrology Rooms, Sackler Library, Oxford, with the other papyrus collections of the Egypt Exploration Society, courtesy of which they are published here. (The published *P.Herm.* were separated from the rest of the collection after publication and were presented to the John Rylands Library, Manchester.) Bell, who prepared a preliminary inventory, called the collection "P.Misc.," a designation I have adopted in this and other publications.

⁵ Bell and Rees had made rough transcripts of two of the letters published below, 1 and 5; despite its problems, it is curious that 1 was not included in *P.Herm.*, especially in view of the publication of the fragmentary *P.Herm.* 10, as well as of other incomplete texts in this volume.

⁶ To quote from *P.Herm.*, p. v (Preface), the papyri were placed between "sheets of paper which included discarded pages from the *Oxford University Gazette*..., and these pages bore dates ranging from May 1907 to October 1908." These dates refer to the original "folders" of the papyri published in *P.Herm.*; some of the inedita are between pages of the *Gazette* from 1904, 1906 (e.g., 5: 30 October 1906), and 1909. This preliminary conservation of the material was the work of Hunt (the numbers on the folders and other annotations are in his hand). Grenfell was ill at that time, which resulted in a dramatic increase of Hunt's workload and responsibilities; why Hunt chose to dedicate some of his scarce time to relaxing and sorting these papyri, which, being mostly Byzantine documents, contained little that would interest him, is unknown. (That he used pages of the *Gazette* of various dates should not be taken to imply that the work was carried out intermittently over the years; the sequence of inventory numbers has no relation with these dates. Hunt used whatever folders were available to him.)

⁷ The Bodleian Library and the British Museum are the two institutions that bought most of the papyri Grenfell brought from Egypt. A good example are the papyri published in *P.Grenf.*

collection, or part thereof, to the Bodleian Library.⁸ This surely did not include the papyri acquired jointly with, or only by, Grenfell, which remained with the papyri excavated for the EEF.⁹

The papyri in this collection must have been bought with or not long after those acquired by the Earl of Crawford, which later became the property of the John Rylands Library.¹⁰ In *P.Ryl.* 1.17 introd., Hunt referred to a purchase of “several cursive documents from Eshmunên (Hermopolis), some of which are dated in the year A.D. 397.” These latter documents have been identified with *P.Herm.* 52-53.¹¹ The archive of Theophanes and a group of letters involving a certain Melas¹² offer further links between *P.Ryl.* and *P.Herm.* Though it is possible that archives divided between *P.Ryl.* and *P.Herm.* were purchased separately, in different years,¹³ it does not seem likely that the “mother collection” of *P.Herm.* was formed piecemeal.¹⁴ If all these papyri stem from a single purchase, this must have taken place not earlier than the winter of 1898/9,

⁸ See *P.Bodl.*, p. viii.

⁹ I alluded to these private purchases in *APF* 52 (2006) 197.

¹⁰ For a brief discussion of the history of the “Hermopolite” part of the Rylands collection, see Choat (n. 1) 176-178.

¹¹ See van Minnen (n. 1) 81 with n. 56. The collection includes a few other (unpublished) papyri of this date; like *P.Herm.* 52-53, they are dated by the postconsulate of Caesarius and Atticus, which corresponds to 398. (These, as well as other inedita mentioned below, are being prepared for publication in a forthcoming volume of *Papyri from Hermopolis*.)

¹² See J.R. Rea, *CR* 16 (1966) 43, and *JEA* 69 (1983) 138-140. *SB* 16.12947 surely comes from the same collection as *P.Herm.*, though this is not stated in *ed. pr.* (the *P.Misc.* collection includes two inedita from this group).

¹³ If we believe that the papyri comprising the archive of Theophanes “were purchased c. 1896 by A.S. Hunt on behalf of Lord Crawford” (*P.Ryl.* 4, p. 104), the texts of this archive published in *P.Herm.* would have been acquired separately. This is eminently possible; the history of the archive of Dryton, for example, with papyri or parts of the same papyrus bought by Grenfell and Hunt on different occasions, would offer a good parallel (cf. above, n. 9). But I doubt that Hunt bought papyri on behalf of private collectors before 1898; unlike Grenfell, he was unknown to the wider public in 1896, the year of his first trips to Egypt (he was first launched onto the world scene in 1897, with the publication of the second volume of *P.Grenf.*).

¹⁴ This statement is based on my knowledge of this small collection. Note for example that the inventory numbers of archival groups such as the papyri edited here or the unpublished part of the group related to payments to military personnel (those published are *P.Herm.* 39, 70-79, 81-82, *P.Thomas* 27, *SB* 24.16279), or even the inventory numbers of fragments of the same papyrus originally scattered in various folders, cover the entire range of the collection, from low “I” to high “II” numbers (e.g., *P.Misc. inv.* I 48 + II 179, or I 48 + I 55 + II 102; “I” and “II” correspond to the original tin boxes).

the earliest possible occasion for Grenfell and Hunt to acquire papyri from Oxyrhynchus on the market.¹⁵

If we assume that the Coptic letters of the archive refer to the same Apa Ioannes as the Greek, who separated the Coptic from the Greek? I doubt that this was due to a dealer in the late 1890s. A buyer, however, may favor one language over the other, and for a buyer in the 1890s the language of choice would surely have been Greek rather than Coptic. If this holds, the Coptic letters were bought after the Greek letters had been removed from the lot, that is, not before 1898/9; and it is in February 1899 that the bulk of the Rylands Coptica, the “Ashmunein collection,” were bought in Cairo.¹⁶ We may therefore conclude that Grenfell and/or Hunt bought their “Hermopolis” collection in the winter of 1898/9, which they mostly spent excavating in the Fayum. They began the excavations on 9 December 1898, and “returned to Cairo on March 13” 1899.¹⁷ Cairo was where they would buy materials needed for the excavations; in other words, Grenfell and Hunt were in Cairo in early December 1898. They would also take the occasional break from the Fayum, and spend a day or two there. It was presumably during one of those stays at Cairo that the Greek “Hermopolis” collection was bought.¹⁸

¹⁵ There are Oxyrhynchus papyri in *P.Herm.* (nos. 77, 80 + inedita), as well as in *P.Amh.* 1, a collection formed from purchases made in 1896/7, 1898/9, and 1899/1900 (these must be “the last three years” mentioned in the preface to *P.Amh.* 1, written in 1900). Oxyrhynchus was first excavated in the winter of 1896/7; it is not plausible that the papyri were bought at that time. Grenfell and Hunt returned to Egypt in the winter of 1898/9.

¹⁶ See Choat (n. 1) 177. The scenario detailed above is not dissimilar to Choat’s “impression” that the Coptic section of the archive was bought later than the Greek (p. 183).

¹⁷ See B.P. Grenfell and A.S. Hunt, “Excavations for Papyri in the Fayûm; the Position of Lake Moeris,” *Egypt Exploration Fund, Archaeological Report* 8 (1898-1899) 8-15; the quotation comes from p. 15.

¹⁸ The acquisition history of the collection as reconstructed above relies on many of the findings of Choat (n. 1) but diverges from some of his conclusions. Another suggestion has been put forward by van Minnen (n. 1) 81, namely that “the Greek letters were acquired some time after 1904.” Van Minnen refers to Grenfell and Hunt, “Some Classical Fragments from Hermopolis,” in *Mélanges Nicole* (Geneva 1905) 212, who spoke of “four pieces ... acquired by us in December 1904 in Cairo, being selected from a box full of Byzantine papyri from Ashmunen,” and notes: “It seems most likely that Grenfell & Hunt had gone through this box before. They apparently bought the remainder sometime later and put the papyri between pages of the *Oxford University Gazette* for 1907/1908” (p. 81, n. 55). I do not wish to rule out this possibility, but I should note that this was not the only time when Grenfell and Hunt came across a group of Hermopolis papyri on the market (available since the nineteenth century), and in

1

P.Misc. inv. II 70

14.2 × 18 cm

Late IV

Epagathos, who is in prison, writes this badly spelled letter to Apa Ioannes asking him to mediate with a certain Apollonios and secure his release; this does not appear to be the first time that he has approached the monk. He bemoans the lack of food and his hunger, and says that he puts all his trust in God and Apa Ioannes.

There are several letters addressed to clergymen and requesting release from prison or intervention with the authorities, while there is also evidence for such intervention.¹⁹ Three of the Coptic letters of this archive stem from or relate to prisoners and convey similar requests: *P.Ryl.Copt.* 272, 273, and *P.Mich. inv.* 6626.²⁰ There are references to intervention with civil or military authorities also in *P.Herm.* 7, 10, 17, *P.Ryl.Copt.* 270, 311, and perhaps *SB* 18.13612; cf. also 2 below. In *P.Lond.* 3.981 a *dux* is reported to be the recipient of Apa Ioannes' blessing, which further testifies to this monk's "privileged relationship" with the authorities.

The text runs across the fibers on the front, and continues, along the fibers, on to the back. On the back there are traces of earlier writing, as well as offsets. There was no docket.

τῷ κυρίῳ μου πατρὶ ἐν
κυρίῳ Θεῷ καὶ Χρὶστῷ τοῦ υἱῷ
Ἰωάννῃ Ἐπάγαθος

- 4 χαίρειν. γινώσκεις σαι
βούλομε, κύριέ μου πάτηρ,
ὅτι ἤλθον πρὸς σαι καὶ ἄλ-
λοτε ἀξιῶν σα[ι] τῇ νύκτι σὴν χρησ-
8 τότητα περὶ Ἀπολλωνίου,
ὅτι ἀξιῶ σαι πέμψαι πρὸς αὐ-
τ[ὸν] εἶνα ἀπολύσῃ μαι ἀπὸ

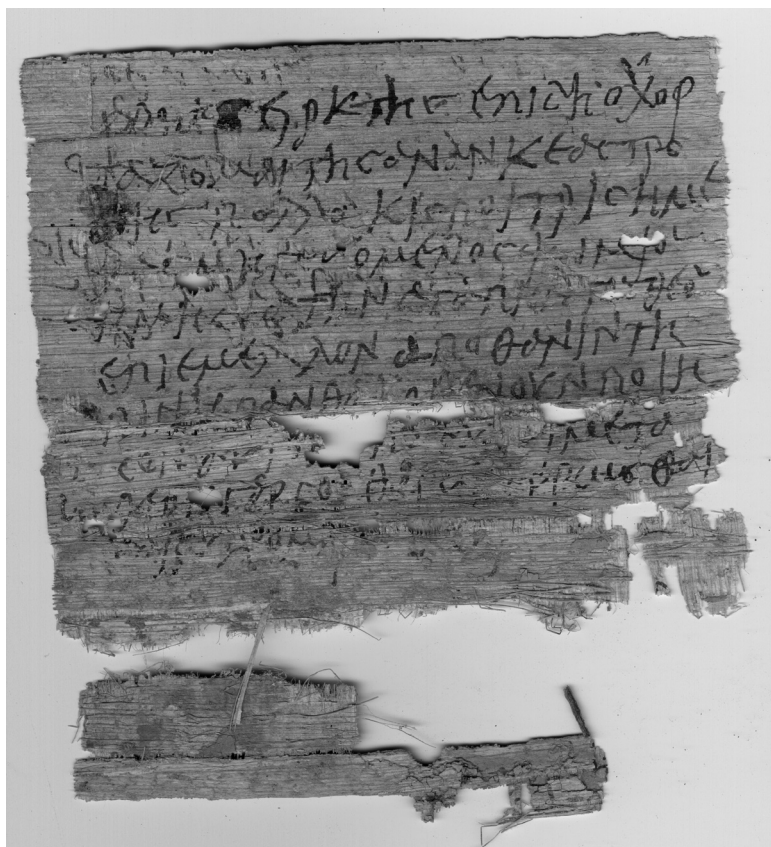
any case there is no evidence that they bought anything else out of this particular box. In any case, it would be worth examining whether they continued to buy papyri indiscriminately after ca. 1901; a study of Grenfell and (to a lesser extent) Hunt as dealers in papyri would be useful.

¹⁹ See G. Schmelz, *Kirchliche Amtsträger im spätantiken Ägypten* (Munich and Leipzig 2002) 259-260, with references; add now *P.Köln* 11.464. Most of these texts are in Coptic. We may further compare *P.Oxy.* 56.3870, a sixth/seventh-century letter of a prisoner, though it originates from a different milieu.

²⁰ This latter papyrus is unpublished; see Choat (n. 1) 180.

3 ἰωανη; l. Ἰωάννη 4, 6, 7, 23 l. σε 5 l. βούλομαι, πάτερ 10 l. ἵνα, με
 14 l. ἐπειδὴ 15 l. ἀναγκαίᾳς 16 l. τρεῖς 18 l. εἰ 19 l. ἐπεὶ, ἀποθανεῖν 20
 l. πείνη 22 l. θαρρῶ

“To my lord father, in Lord God, and son of Christ, Ioannes, (from) Epagathos, greetings. I want you to know, my lord father, that I came to you some other time too, asking your goodness about Apollonios, (saying) that I ask you to send (a letter) to him, so that he releases me from ... (my?) power ... that he releases me from prison, because I do not have enough of the food I need; sometimes I spend three days without tasting bread. Had it not been for the love of God, I would have died of hunger. Thus make every effort (?) so that he releases me, for after God I trust (only) you. I pray for your health.”



verso

1-2 ἐν | κυρίῳ Θεῷ καὶ Χριστῷ τοῦ υἱοῦ. In prescripts of Christian letters, the expression ἐν κυρίῳ Θεῷ usually precedes the infinitive χαίρειν, and is to be taken with it (“greetings in Lord God”). Here it seems to modify πατρί – clearly a confusion of the formula.

The collocation Χριστοῦ υἱῷ is unusual but not unknown; for the concept, cf. Evagr., *Exp. in Prov. Salomonis*, PG 96.15-16, εἰ οἱ τοῦ Χριστοῦ υἱοὶ ἀλλήλων εἰσὶν ἀδελφοί, οἱ ἄγγελοι δὲ καὶ οἱ δίκαιοι ἄνθρωποι Χριστοῦ εἰσὶν υἱοὶ κτλ. (The referees suggest that Χριστοῦ may be a mistake for Χριστῷ, “Christ, His son.”)

4-5 γινώσκειν σαι | βούλομε. See *P.Köln* 5.238.2, *P.Strasb.* 1.35.2. θέλω is much more common than βούλομαι in this context.

6 ἦλθον πρὸς σαί (l. σέ). Assuming that Epagathos was in prison, he would not have physically visited Apa Ioannes; the verb will have to be understood in a figurative sense.

7-8 ἀξιῶν σα[ι] τῇ ν' σὴν χρησ|τότητα. τὴν σὴν χρηστότητα might be taken to stand in apposition to σα[ι] (l. σε), but the expression is awkward; we should have had ἀξιῶν τὴν σὴν χ. or ἀξιῶν σου τὴν χ.

χρησ|τότητα. The first four letters are guessed rather than read; it is also possible that the orthography varied from the norm. On this abstract (in the accusative, usually preceded by τὴν σὴν), see *P.Oxy.* 56.3863.6n.; *CPR* 25.2.6n. It is often used for clergymen, including Apa Ioannes (*P.Herm.* 17.2, 2.7; cf. also 5.5).

8 Ἀπολλωνίου. No doubt an official of some kind.

14-17 For food deprivation and hunger in prison, see *P.Oxy.* 56.3870.5 ἐν τῇ φυλακῇ ἐσμὲν καὶ μὴ ἔχομεν δίποτε προσφάγιν, 8 ἵνα μὴ ἀποθνήσγωμεν ἀπὸ πίνας; cf. also *O.Crum* 209.

14-15 χορ|τάζομαι. This is the first occurrence of this verb in a papyrus.

16-17 ποιῶ <ω> τρεῖς ἡμέ|ρας. For the sense, see LSJ s.v. ποιῶ A.VII. For the misspelling, see *P.Mil.* 80.4.

18 διὰ τὴν ἀγάπην τοῦ Θεοῦ. References to the “love of God” are common in patristic literature but not in the papyri. A somewhat remote parallel is the later *P.Apoll.* 60.16 διὰ εἰς ἐμὲ Θεοῦ ἀγάπην; cf. also *P.Lond.* 6.1927.4 ἐν ἀγάπῃ Χ(ριστο)ῦ.

19 ἐπί (l. ἐπεί) is otiose.

20-21 πᾶν θα . . . ν οὖν ποιή|σον. This is apparently a variation of the formula πᾶν (οὖν) ποιήσον (see H.A. Steen, “Les clichés épistolaires dans les lettres sur papyrus grecques,” *C&M* 1, 1938, 158), but the reading has defied me. The letter after θα may be *iota*; then perhaps *omicron*; between this and ν, one or two letters, the first of which begins with an upright.

21 [ἀ]πολύσαι με. <με>τά. I have assumed haplography on the part of the scribe because the infinitive needs an object (not likely to be αὐτόν); cf. l. 13 ἀπολύση με.

21-22 <με>τά | Θεὸν γὰρ σοὶ θαρῶ. This is a variation of the formula “after God, I have no one (to help me) but you,” on which see M. Naldini, *Il Cristianesimo in Egitto* (Florence 1998) 15. Of the letters in the archive, compare *P.Herm.* 9.21, ἀλλὰ μετὰ τὸν ὑπιστον Θεὸν ἐπανάκμαι τῇ σῇ θε[ο]σ[εβείᾳ], and 17.3-4, μετὰ τῶν Θεὸν | τὴν σὴν βοήθιαν προσδωκῶ; cf. also 5.9. (The letter from prison *P.Oxy.* 3870, referred to in 14-17n., also closes with a similar statement or veiled request.) For a comparable use of the verb θαρῶ, cf. *SB* 14.11882.8-9, τῇ δὲ δυνάμει τοῦ κυβερνήσαντός με θεοῦ | θαρροῦμεν, or *P.Neph.* 10.10-13, θαρρῶ τῷ δεσπότῃ Θεῷ | διὰ τῶν ὑμῶν προσευχῶν εἰς | τέλος ἀποκατασταθῆναι ἡμᾶς εἰς τοὺς | οἴκους ἡμῶν.

2

P.Misc. inv. II 98a + I 134a

7 × 22.2 cm

Late IV

This fragmentary letter refers to a *praeses* (l. 10) who may be due to meet with Apa Ioannes (see 11n.); the latter was apparently asked to raise an issue with the governor involving his correspondent, perhaps regarding a petition (l. 14). We find references to cases brought before provincial governors in some of the Coptic letters of the archive (*P.Ryl.Copt.* 270, 273, 311). Cf. also 1 introd.

The text is written along the fibers.

- [τῷ ± 9]άτω
 [καὶ θεοφι]λεστάτῳ
 [απα]ῖων]νης
 4 [± 8] . μὶς ἐν κ(υρί)ῳ Θ(ε)ῷ
 [πλεῖσ]τα χέριν.
 [± 6]ς εὐχαριστίας
 [± 6] . τῇ σῇ χρηστότητα
 8 [± 6] . το μν[ή]σθητί μοι

[ἐν τῇ ἀγ]ίᾳ σου προσευχῇ
 [± 6] υ τοῦ ἡγεμόνος
 [± 6] ἐνους πρὸς τὴν σὴν
 12 [± 6] τι μνήσθητί μοι
 [± 6] ωσεω . τῆς πρὸς
 [± 6] υ κα[ι] γὰρ ἐνέτυχα
 [± 7] . [± 15]

Back, upwards, along the fibers:

16 [τῷ ± 9] ἄτῳ καὶ θεοφιλεστάτῳ ἀπα Ἰωάννης . α . . [
 3, 16 l. Ἰωάννη 4 $\overline{\kappa\omega\theta\omega}$ 5 l. χαίρειν 7 l. χρηστότητι 16 Ἰωάννης

“To the most ... and most God-loving Apa Ioannes, (from) -mis in lord God very many greetings. ... thanks ... your goodness ... remember me in your holy prayer ... the *praeses* -ing towards (?) your ... remember me ... for I (?) petitioned ...”

1-2 [τῷ ± 9] ἄτῳ | [καὶ θεοφι]λεστάτῳ. See l. 16. This is an early papyrological attestation of the epithet θεοφιλέστατος used for an ecclesiastic, which becomes common from the fifth century; we find θεοφιλής already in *PLond.* 6.1923.2 and 1927.2, from the earlier part of the century. Other epithets with which it occurs in combination are ἀγιώτατος (e.g., *POxy.* 16.1904.4) and ὁσιώτατος (*SB* 8.9876.3); the persons thus called are bishops. But I doubt we have to restore any of these two epithets here. Other possibilities, though not exactly paralleled, are εὐλαβεστάτῳ or τιμιωτάτῳ; cf. *PHerm.* 8.1 (also 4.1). Cf. also *PSijp.* 60b.1, of about the same date as 2: τῷ τιμιωτάτῳ [καὶ θεοφ]ιλεστάτῳ καὶ ἐναρέτῳ.

3 ἀπα Ἰωάν]νης (l. Ἰωάννη). See l. 16. The nominative instead of the dative also occurs in *PHerm.* 7.1 and 10.2 (with *BL* 5:44).

6 εὐχαριστίας. Before that [μεγάλα]ς, for example, would have the right length. In this archive, we find expressions of gratitude at the start of the body of the letter in *PHerm.* 7, 8, and 10.

7 The remnants on the edge would suit *omega*, i.e., this would be the ending of the verb governing εὐχαριστίας (if this is accusative plural). But I have failed to find what this would be.



recto



verso

τῇ σῇ χρηστότητα (l. -τι). For the confusion of the case, see 11-12n. For the abstract, see 1.7-8n.

8-9 μν[ή]σθητί μοι | [ἐν τῇ ἀγ]ία σου προσευχῇ. This phrase recurs verbatim in *P.Lond.* 6.1926.16-17 (cf. 21-22). For the construction compare also *P.Vind.Sijp.* 28.1-2 μνήσθ<ητ>ί μοι εἰς τὰς ἀγίας σου | εὐχάς. Requests for such “remembrance” are also found in *P.Herm.* 8.10 and 9.9 (the two letters are essentially “requests for intercessory prayers”). See further 5.11n. On the use of the word προσευχή, not very common in the papyri, see *P.Neph.* 10.8n.

11 [± 6]ένου πρὸς τὴν σὴν. This prepositional construction most often indicates movement towards. It is tempting to restore [ἐρχομ]ένου, which would imply that the *praeses* was about to visit Apa Ioannes, a scenario that recalls visits of governors and other grantees to “holy men” such as John of Lycopolis or Shenute.

11-12 πρὸς τὴν σὴν | [± 6]τι. -τι is not the accusative ending we expect. The case is confused in 7, accusative for dative; here we may have the reverse.

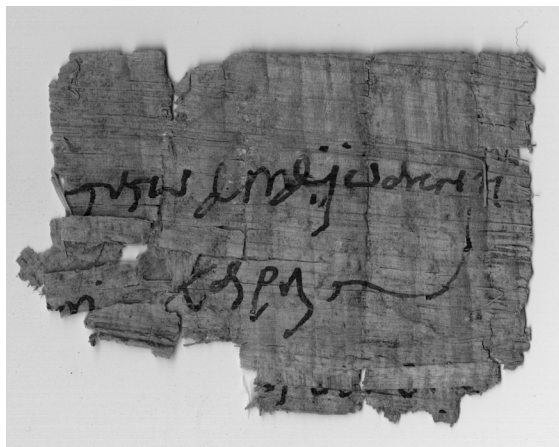
14 ἐνέτυχα. ἐνετύχα|[μεν may also be considered.

3

P.Misc. inv. II 179a

6.8 × 4.9 cm

Late IV



The writing is along the fibers; the back is blank.

[— —] . τάτω ἀπαΐωάννη
 [— —] .. χαίρειν.
 [— — —]

1 ἰωάννη

1] . τάτω ἀπαΐωάννη. See 2.2-4, *P.Herm.* 8.1. The loss to the left will have been extensive.

2] .. χαίρειν. Apparently not πλεῖς]τα.

4

P.Misc. inv. II 11a

6.8 × 8.3 cm

Late IV

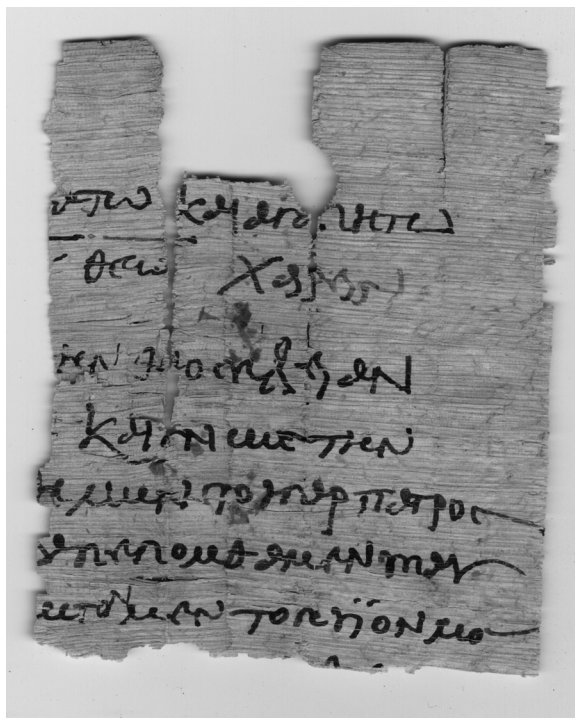
Though the names of the sender and the recipient are lost, it is likely that this is another letter addressed to Apa Ioannes. A Christian letter of this date that belongs to this particular collection is a strong candidate for inclusion in the archive; if we add the abstract noun used for the addressee (l. 3), typical of clergymen, and what little we can glean of the subject matter, which relates to some misfortune of the sender, the candidacy gains in strength.

The writing is along the fibers; the back is blank.

[— — — τιμιωτ]άτω καὶ ἀγαπητῷ
 [— — — ἐν κυρί]ῳ Θεῷ χαίρειν.
 [— — — τήν] σὴν θεοσεβειαν
 4 [— — —] ἡμῶν. τοῦ γὰρ πατρὸς
 [— — —]ς καὶ γνως τὴν
 [— — —]λα πεπόνθαμεν ὑπ' αὐ-
 [— — —]ω. τὸ ν' μὲν τὸν υἱὸν μου
 8 [— — — —] .. [

2] . θεω 7 υἱόν

“To ... the most honored (?) and beloved ... in Lord God greetings ... your piety ... for (of?) the father ... and (so that you?) know ... we suffered by ... my son ...”



1-2 The letter may have started τῷ δεσπότη μου; cf. *P.Herm.* 8.1, τῷ δεσπότη μου τιμω[τ]άτω καὶ εὐλαβε[σ]τάτω. The names of the recipient and sender stood at the beginning of l. 2.

1 τῷ τιμωτ]άτω καὶ ἀγαπητῷ. The collocation is tentatively restored on the model of *P.Lond.* 6.1929.1, 22 and *P.Prag.* 1.100.1; cf. also *P.Neph.* 3.1; 4.1; 5.1, 27.

2 The use of the supralinear bar over θεῶ is peculiar, since the word is written out in full, not as a *nomen sacrum*; before that, there is no means of telling whether the scribe wrote κῶ or κυρίῳ.

3 θεοσβεῖαν. On this abstract, see *P.Neph.* 4.4n.; *P.Oxy.* 56.3858.5n. It is used for Apa Ioannes in *P.Herm.* 8.5 and 9.21; it further occurs in the only letter nominally written by him, *P.Amh.* 2.145.6. Cf. also 5.10.

5 γνωσ: γνῶς or γνώς (*l.* γνούς), though the latter is less likely.

6]λα πεπόνθαμεν: e.g., πολ]λὰ π.; see *CPR* 7.55.8, *P.Heid.* 7.400.13.

7 τὸν' μὲν τὸν υἱὸν μου. On the assumption that the articulation is correct, the second τόν is otiose.

A mother pleads for her son in SB 18.13612.

5

P.Misc. inv. II 20a

8 × 13.3 cm

Late IV

What we have is the lower right-hand part of a letter conveying a request (l. 4) by a plurality of persons to an ecclesiastic. There is a reference to the latter's prayers (l. 11), and the abstract nouns used for him are typical of fourth-century letters addressed to monks and other clergymen, including Apa Ioannes (ll. 5, 10). Apart from the motifs and language, the date and the collection itself suggest that the recipient of the letter was Apa Ioannes. This is the work of an educated writer (cf. ll. 3, 7); it is a pity that so little is preserved.

The text is written along the fibers. The back is blank.

	[ —	—	—	] φα . [.] ἀξιατικά
	[ —	—	—	] . . . ἀλλή[λ]ων καὶ
	[ —	—		] ν ἀπὸ ἄλλων εἰς ἄλλα
4	[ —	—		] . ιας καὶ . . . ἀξιοῦμεν
	[ —	—		] . τὴν σή[ν] χρηστότητα ποι-
	[ —	—		] . ας τὴν ἐνταῦθα ἀκοῦσαι
	[ —	—		] ἵνα μὴ παρασύρωμεν
8	[ —	—		] . εως εἰς τὰ ἄνω μέρη
	[—	—	με]	τὰ γὰρ τὸν Θεὸν ἕως σήμε-
	[ρον	—		] . ἦσαι τῇ θεοσεβείᾳ σου
	[ —	—		] φων εὐχῶν σου δυνηθῶ-
12	[μεν	—		] ἦναι.
	[ —	—		] ἐρρῶσθαι σε εὐχό-
	[ —	—	—	] μεθ' [

2 Perhaps μετ' ἀλλή[λ]ων.

5 χρηστότητα. See 1.7-8n.

7 παρασύρωμεν. The verb has occurred only in one other papyrus, *M.Chr.* 89.22 (138-161).

9 με]τὰ γὰρ τὸν Θεόν. On this prepositional expression, see 1.21-22n. The recipient of the letter is regarded as only second to God, but the context is obscured by the lacuna.

10 τῇ θεοσεβείᾳ σου. See 4.3n.

11 Presumably διὰ τῶ]ν εὐχῶν σου, as in *P.Lond.* 6.1928.4 or *SB* 5.7872.11; sim. *P.Herm.* 8.14-15, διὰ τῶν ἀγιοτάτων | σου εὐχῶν, referring to Apa Ioannes' prayers, which will help the sender of the letter out of his predicament. Cf. also 2.8-9n.

14 It is theoretically possible that εὐχόμεθα was followed by a vocative or the like.

An Inconvenient Truth? *P.Oxy. 18.2196* verso, the Apion Estate, and *fiscalité* in the Late Antique Oxyrhynchite¹

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To James Keenan, mentor and friend
*Ed elli a lui: Tu prima m'inviasti
verso Parnaso a ber ne le sue grotte
(Dante, Purgatorio 22.64-65)*

Abstract

A preliminary interpretation of the contents of *P.Oxy. 18.2196* verso *descr.*, an account deriving from the high-level administration of the Apion estate at Oxyrhynchus ca. 586/7. This text is important for the historiography of the late antique Oxyrhynchite in that it furnishes additional confirmation of Gascou's model of "fiscal shares," which concerns the administrative functions of great estates, or *oikoi*. Although a ca. 30% rise in gross receipts is indicated as compared with the 540s, this does not prove that agriculture on the Apion estate was transformed by increased investment or productivity during the second half of the sixth century.

Part 1: Description and Preliminary Interpretation of the Text

In his introduction to the recto of *P.Oxy. 18.2196*, C.H. Roberts read ll. 5-6 of the verso as]· ὕ(περ) τοῦ λήμμ(ατος) τῶν κωμῶν (ἀρτ.) μο(ιριάδες) εἰς
6] γί(ν.) λήμμ(ατα) σί(του) κ(αγκ.) (ἀρτ.) μο(ιριάδες) ις,βτιγ, and described

¹ An earlier (and shorter) version of this paper was presented as part of the Late Antique Oxyrhynchus Panel at the XXV International Congress of Papyrology in Ann Arbor. I thank Roger Bagnall for his comments on that occasion and Nick Gonis, Dominic Rathbone, Peter van Minnen, and John Whitehorne for their criticism of the current version.

the text as “fragmentary notes of receipts from various unnamed villages.” Roberts also read l. 31, which he transcribed γί(ν.) [λή]μμ(ατα) προ(σφορῶν) Ἀλεξ(ανδρείας) νο(μ.) μο(ιριάς) αἰηφιβ . () δ() κ() ρφαLd’; he noted, in addition, that the total of the προσφοραὶ Ἀλεξανδρείας seemed so large that he doubted the interpretation of them by the editors of *P.Oxy.* 16.1906 as “taxes assigned by the State to the Church of Alexandria εἰς διατροφήν τῶν πτωχῶν.” Some thirty years later Jean Gascou argued that the προ() in l. 31 in fact referred to the *pronoetai* (estate managers) of the Flavii Apiones, not *prosfhorai*,² and that the figure therefore represented the Apiones’ rural “revenus en espèces” ca. 586/7.³ This was a realization of great significance (although I slightly modify his proposed reading below), but the text has more to offer; I would suggest that it is one of the most important papyri in the Apion dossier. In this part of the paper I present all of its relevant data, incorporating information from other texts that concern estate receipts (and expenses) at this very high level of administration. The discussion is structured around the four discrete sections of the document, reading counter-clockwise from the upper left-hand corner. The first section comprises col. 1.1-6; the second, col. 1.7-13; the third, cols. 1.14-2.9. The fourth section is written above and perpendicular to the second column. The Greek text will be published in its entirety elsewhere.⁴

First section of the document

Line 1 reads λημμ() οὔ(τως). This is certainly the heading for the *lemmata sitou*, for the next five lines concern grain.⁵ Lines 2 and 3 are too damaged to provide useful information. They are followed by (and probably were steps along the way to) a total in l. 4:] γί(ν.) ό(μοῦ) σί(του) (ἀρτ.) (μῦρ.) ι και η/ ωςL, followed by a lost number of *choinikes*. These are surely the λήμμ(ατα) δ(ιὰ) προ(), i.e., the receipts through the Apiones’ *prostasiai* (districts overseen by *pronoetai*), for the next line gives the total for the villages, and the division between προ() and villages recurs in the following section of the account concerning the *argyrika*. The sum of these two totals accords very well with the grand total in l. 6. Lines 5-6 are essentially as presented in the *descriptum*.⁶

² *BL* 6:106. See further below (concerning the third section of the document).

³ It seems likely that the verso – clearly the outside of the roll – was written after the recto. Since the recto refers to Praeiecta and her sons (Apion III and Georgios), the verso probably postdates their receipt of the Oxyrhynchite portion of Apion II’s estate.

⁴ In a forthcoming volume of the *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*. I am grateful to Revel Coles and, especially, Nick Gonis for providing images of the papyrus.

⁵ Cf. the division of receipts into grain and money in the accounts of the *pronoetai*, e.g., *P.Oxy.* 55.3804.141-142.

⁶ At the beginning of l. 5 read: γί(ν.) (ὑπὲρ) τοῦ λήμμ(ατος) κτλ. At the beginning of l. 6 read: γί(ν.) ό(μοῦ) λημμ(άτων) σί(του) κτλ.; at the end, ιςβτιγ[.

Summary of this section:

προ(): 108,816.5+ *artabai* (*choinikes* lost).

villages: 53,000+ *art.* (everything to the right of the thousands unit is lost; 53,49_ is suggested by the grand total).

grand total: 162,313+ *canc. art.* (fractions and *choinikes* lost).⁷

That an accounting distinction was made in the document between the grain from the villages and that from the estate's *pronoetai* has only one plausible explanation: the former grain (or at least the bulk of it) was not the produce of estate land but was to be collected by the *oikos* on behalf of the State as tax (the *embole*).⁸ This is not to argue that the grain received by the *pronoetai* was solely from Apion lands – it surely was not⁹ – but, since villages might be included in the territory of a *pronoetes*,¹⁰ the *komai* in *P.Oxy.* 18.2196.v must have been segregated because they were beyond easy incorporation into the estate's management structure. The best explanation for this is that the Apiones owned no (or limited) property in (or near) them, that the estate's *primary* relationship with these settlements was fiscal.¹¹

The *lemmata dia pro()* in *P.Oxy.* 18.2196.v are the sum total of the target receipts that one encounters in the accounts of the Apiones' *pronoetai* and in

⁷ No conversions are made, so the *artabai* from the *pro()* and the villages must be *cancellus artabai*, even though they are not identified as such.

⁸ As expected under Gascou's model of "fiscal shares," on which see part 2 below. *Oikos*: the Apion estate was known as the *endoxos oikos*. J. Banaji, "Agrarian History and the Labour Organisation of Byzantine Large Estates," in A.K. Bowman and E. Rogan (eds.), *Agriculture in Egypt* (Oxford 1999) 205, defines the *oikoi* as estates "held in joint ownership and thus immune to the devastating fragmentation of partible inheritance."

⁹ For example, there are entries in the accounts of the *pronoetai* labeled ὑπὲρ ἰδίας γῆς.

¹⁰ Cf., e.g., *P.Oxy.* 1.136.15-17 and 18.2196.r.4-5.

¹¹ Here it may be noted that the relationship of an Oxyrhynchite *geouchos* or *geouchousa* to a *kome* is invariably described using a present participle of *pagarchoo*, as opposed to one of *diaphero*; see *P.Lond.* 3.776 (p. 278); *P.Oxy.* 1.133, 139; 16.1981; 24.2420; 66.4586; 70.4785, 4787, 4802; cf. 4787, 9-10n. P. Sarris, *Economy and Society in the Age of Justinian* (Cambridge 2006) 198, n. 86, writes that *P.Lond.* 776 and *P.Oxy.* 133 represent "direct, non-fiscal economic relations" between the Apiones and those bound to them pagarchically. In the case of *P.Lond.* 776, the bond is in fact one of ownership (see l. 8, though the Apiones' relationship with the village, which certainly included the holdings of others, is indeed pagarchic). In *P.Oxy.* 133 taxes are probably the *raison d'être* for the agreement (as is especially suggested by the parties to the contract and ll. 16-17).

their *apaitesimon* or rent roll.¹² There is no reason to believe that they represent a net sum, that is, that local expenses, which were largely the responsibility of the *pronoetai*, have already been deducted from them.¹³ It would seem, rather, that *P.Oxy.* 18.2196.v concerns the *oikos*' fiscal outlay – perhaps it was some sort of planning document – but it is not readily apparent why the taxes were later entered for the *argyrika* but not for the grain. I offer one possible explanation below, in my discussion of the fourth section of the document. Alternatively, perhaps the grain taxes were ignored in *P.Oxy.* 18.2196.v because the estate's standard operating procedure was to direct its net grain yield to the *embole*.¹⁴ We know the amount of the *embole* from the roughly contemporaneous *P.Oxy.* 1.127.r, which reveals that the Apiones "contributed" (verb: *synteleo*) approximately 140,618 *cancellus artabai* for the *embole* of the Oxyrhynchite and Cynopolite in the late sixth century. Subtracting the 53,000 *art.* in *P.Oxy.* 18.2196.v that were to be collected by the *oikos* from the villages (*art.* that were destined for the tax) brings us closer to the actual liability of the estate, though the result still includes taxes on non-Apion land (see n. 9 above): 87,618 *art.* or just over 80% of the *lemmata dia pro*(). This percentage might seem extraordinarily or even implausibly high, but it is consistent with the predilection for an income in gold that is manifest elsewhere in the Apion dossier. The Apiones seem to have had the privilege of commuting money taxes into grain.¹⁵

The *lemmata dia pro*() is a figure of great interest, for it allows us to work toward an estimate of the estate's arable land. If we assume an average grain

¹² The *lemmata* of the *pronoetai* seem to have been fixed (or even fossilized) and thus are to be considered targets. Cf., e.g., R. Mazza, "*P.Oxy.* XVI 1911 e i conti annuali dei *pronoetai*," *ZPE* 122 (1998) 161-172.

¹³ The accounts of the *pronoetai* reveal that the *embole* itself was a local deduction; cf., e.g., *P.Oxy.* 55.3804.149-150.

¹⁴ *P.Oxy.* 16.1918.v, the text with content closest to that of *P.Oxy.* 18.2196.v, makes no mention of the estate's receipts and expenditures in grain. "Ignored:" see also previous note, perhaps indicating that gold was the real concern at the top of the estate management hierarchy.

¹⁵ "Predilection:" noted already in E.R. Hardy, *The Large Estates of Byzantine Egypt* (New York 1931) 100. "Privilege:" cf. J. Gasco, "Les grands domaines, la cité et l'État en Égypte byzantine," *T&MByz* 9 (1985) 36. For the rate of the *embole*, see C. Zuckerman, *Du village à l'Empire. Autour du registre fiscal d'Aphroditô* (Paris 2004) 215-217.

If we assume that *P.Oxy.* 18.2196.v only concerns the Oxyrhynchite – an unlikely hypothesis, given that the districts appear to have been administered as a unit; cf. Hardy, 81-83 – the result of the calculation is 34,818.5 *art.* or 32% of the *lemmata dia pro*(). (The Apiones' contribution to the *embole* of the Oxyrhynchite in *P.Oxy.* 1.127.r is 87,818.5 *cancellus artabai*.)

yield of 10-12 *artabai/aroura* and direct exploitation,¹⁶ it is the product of roughly 9,000-11,000 *arourai*. This figure is surely too low. One expects that the estate in fact let out a large percentage of its grain land, especially given its conservative approach toward viticulture.¹⁷ In other words, the *lemmata dia pro*() reflect only a percentage of the land's yield. Determining this percentage is difficult, given the virtual absence of lease contracts from the estate and, more generally, in light of the many variables impacting tenancy arrangements.¹⁸ For the present exercise, let us assume that the Apiones received 50% of the crop in rent (and taxes),¹⁹ that is, that the total area of their grain land was roughly 18,000-22,000 *ar*. Since the estate almost certainly exploited some of its grain land directly (and because a 50% division of the yield is just possibly too conservative),²⁰ this should be considered a ceiling, but the actual figure was undoubtedly closer to it than to 11,000 *ar*. The figure of 18,000-22,000 *ar*., incidentally, represents 9-11% of the arable land in the fourth-century Oxyrhynchite (only).²¹

Second section of the document

Line 7 reads, "Receipts through villages," λημμ() δ(ιὰ) κωμῶν, and from the entries following, it is clear that the scribe is now concerned with the *ar*-

¹⁶ For average yields, see D.W. Rathbone, *Economic Rationalism and Rural Society in Third-Century A.D. Egypt* (Cambridge 1991) 243; *id.*, "Roman Egypt," in *Cambridge Economic History of the Greco-Roman World* (Cambridge 2007) 703-704.

¹⁷ See T.M. Hickey, "Aristocratic Landholding in Byzantine Egypt," in R.S. Bagnall (ed.), *Egypt in the Byzantine World* (Cambridge 2007) 301-302.

¹⁸ Cf. T.M. Hickey, *A Public "House" but Closed: "Fiscal Participation" and Economic Decision Making on the Oxyrhynchite Estate of the Flavii Apiones* (Ph.D. diss., Chicago 2001) 75-107. For leases from the late antique Oxyrhynchite, see now R. Mazza, "Gli affitti fondiari dell'Ossirinichite nell'età tardoantica," *Pap Congr. XXIII*, 439-446, with a useful tabular summary at 443-446.

¹⁹ C. Wickham, *Framing the Early Middle Ages: Europe and the Mediterranean, 400-800* (New York 2005) 64, seems to be unaware that the landlord typically paid the taxes, i.e., they were presumably taken into account when setting a rent. For the Oxyrhynchite, see Mazza (n. 18) 441.

²⁰ Cf. *P.Heid.* 5, pp. 256-258, but it should be noted that most of the data concerning quotas are for typical share crops like grapes. *P.Oxy.* 6.913 (AD 443) is the only relevant Oxyrhynchite text: its quota is 50% (with the tenant choosing the seed to be planted).

²¹ I.e., without the Cynopolite (or rather, rump Cynopolite, since that district's West Bank territory had been partitioned between the Oxyrhynchite and Hermopolite). For the fourth-century figure, see R.S. Bagnall and K.A. Worp, "Grain Land in the Oxyrhynchite Nome," *ZPE* 37 (1980) 263-264.

gyrika of the villages, or money receipts;²² again, since villages are at issue, these must be taxes that are to be collected by the Apiones. In l. 8 read: [ἀναλ()] οὔ(τως), followed by a series of sums of *solidi* on the Alexandrian standard and *keratia*.²³ The first entry is preceded by]ελ(), presumably *n*] ἐλ(ιδος), *n*th “sheet” or “page;”²⁴ cf. the *lemmata dia pro*() (next section).

Village lemmata:

2,485 *nom.* 2.5 *ker.*
 1,052 *nom.* 8.5 *ker.*
 1,323 *nom.* 16 *ker.*
 667 *nom.* 19 *ker.*
 ? *nom.* 2 *ker.*

Total (not given in the text): >5,527 *nom.*, 48 *ker.* (6,526 *nom.* is the maximum possible.) By way of comparison, the figure for the “other villages” in the similar estate account *P.Oxy.* 16.1918.v.12 (ca. 542) is 5,685 43/96 *nom.*²⁵

Third section of the document

The heading (col. 1, l. 14) for this section is damaged – only οὔ(τως) is certain – but from col. 2, l. 8 it is clear that the *argyrika* to be collected by the *pronoetai* are at issue. I read 2.8 (= Roberts’ l. 31 above) as γί(ν.) λημμ() δ(ιὰ) πρρο, Ἀλεξ(ανδρείας) νο(μ.) (μυρ.) αἰφιβ ἄλλ(α) κ(εράτια) ρφαLd’.²⁶ Gascou’s proposal for this line (n. 2 above), [λή]μμ(ατα) προ(νοητών), was suggested by *P.Oxy.* 16.1918.v.1 (= λημμ() προν()), though προ(στασιών) or προ(νοησιών), i.e., a reference to places rather than people, seems preferable in *P.Oxy.* 18.2196.v, given that *lemmata* from (*dia*) villages are the other category in the text. The heading (1.14) is followed by a list of amounts of *solidi* on the Alexandrian standard and *keratia*, each preceded by an ordinal; ἐλ(ιδος) has

²² The term *argyrika* does not appear in *P.Oxy.* 18.2196.v, but it is apparent from the accounts of the *pronoetai* (e.g., *P.Oxy.* 16.1911.69, 209) and other texts that it should be understood.

²³ For the vexed issue of gold standards, see the bibliography in *P.Oxy.* 72.4930, 13–16n. Generally speaking, payments were made to the estate on the private standard and shipped out of the estate on the Alexandrian standard.

²⁴ See H.I. Bell’s remarks, *P.Lond.* 4.1420, 146n., and R. Rémondon, “*P.Hamb.* 56 et *P.Lond.* 1419 (notes sur les finances d’Aphrodito du VI^e siècle au VIII^e),” *CÉ* 40 (1965) 405, n. 3. ἐλλ() appears in a text with content closest to that of *P.Oxy.* 18.2196.v, *P.Oxy.* 16.1918.

²⁵ In *P.Oxy.* 16.1918.v.10, I am inclined to think that the references to Παρο . . . [and Πακέρπη are incorrect: these are not *komai*. The digital image is of no help; the relevant parts of the papyrus are almost completely abraded.

²⁶ For Ἀλεξανδρείας with *nomismata* (*pace* Roberts), cf. n. 23 above.

been included after the first two numerals. These entries tempt the reader to equate each *helis* with a different *prostasia*,²⁷ but some of the figures (especially the last one) seem too low for this to be plausible. Furthermore, in the related *P.Oxy.* 16.1918.v.1-5 the number of *hellides* (sic) is only four, but the sum of the *lemmata* is not even close to being proportionally smaller. The *helides* in *P.Oxy.* 18.2196.v were presumably part of a roll or codex in the possession of the Apiones' central management (perhaps in the hands of the estate *trapezites*).

lemmata dia pro()

1st	1,393 <i>nom.</i>	3 <i>ker.</i>	
2nd	1,027 <i>nom.</i>	6.25 <i>ker.</i>	
3rd	1,635 <i>nom.</i>	4 <i>ker.</i>	
4th	1,091 <i>nom.</i>	17.5 <i>ker.</i>	
5th	2,006 <i>nom.</i>	15.25 <i>ker.</i>	
6th	1,909 <i>nom.</i>	0.75 <i>ker.</i>	
7th	1,170 <i>nom.</i>	8.25 <i>ker.</i>	
8th	2,954 <i>nom.</i>	13.75 <i>ker.</i>	
9th	3,414 <i>nom.</i>	lost	(end of col. 1)
10th	443 <i>nom.</i>	20.25 <i>ker.</i>	
11th	247 <i>nom.</i>	21.25 <i>ker.</i>	
12th	384 <i>nom.</i>	10 <i>ker.</i>	(374 <i>nom.</i> written originally)
13th	423 <i>nom.</i>	16 <i>ker.</i>	
14th	272 <i>nom.</i>	21 <i>ker.</i>	
15th	130 <i>nom.</i>	1.75 <i>ker.</i>	
16th	14 <i>nom.</i>	14.5 <i>ker.</i>	

Total (as stated in the text): 18,512 *nom.*, 191.75 *ker.* The *solidi* add up correctly, and one might reasonably hypothesize that the missing *keratia* sum from the 9th *helis* is 18.25. By way of comparison, the corresponding *lemmata* in *P.Oxy.* 16.1918.v (ca. 542) amount to 14,325 9/48 *nom.* on the Alexandrian standard.²⁸ This indicates that the *oikos*' rural receipts (or rather, target rural receipts) had risen by about 30% in the intervening forty-odd years, a matter to which I will return in part 2 below.

²⁷ For the number of *prostasiai*, cf., e.g., Hardy (n. 15) 82.

²⁸ I use this figure for the sake of convenience; it includes some negligible amounts (ll. 10-11) from villages. The village *lemmata* (taxes, essentially) were less changed than the *lemmata dia pro()* during this period; at the most, they increased 15%, but it is also possible (given the fragmentary data from the relevant part of *P.Oxy.* 18.2196.v) that they decreased 3%. The difference between the total *lemmata* in *P.Oxy.* 16.1918.v and *P.Oxy.* 18.2196.v is 20-25%.

Fourth section of the document

Above col. 2 of the third section, and written perpendicular to it (i.e., with the fibers), is an additional account, the product of another hand. This concerns the *oikos'* *analomata* in specie, its money expenses – normally, but here, as in *P.Oxy.* 16.1918.v,²⁹ the word seems to have a more limited meaning: taxes and related charges. The perspective is that of the central administration; the *pronoetai*, as noted above, would have been largely responsible for local expenses. These *analomata* are given in the first line, possibly in *solidi* on the private standard, though the *ιδ()* seems to have been crossed out: 13,451 *nom.*, 21 *ker.* By way of comparison, the same *analomata* in *P.Oxy.* 16.1918.v.34 (ca. 542) are 6,917 35/48 *nom.* on the Alexandrian standard, i.e., the *analomata* had risen almost 100% in some forty years. *Prima facie*, one is inclined to attribute most of this apparent increase in the *analomata*, so disproportionate to the rise in the *lemmata*, to the increased monetization of taxes that occurred between the 540s and the 580s.³⁰ Line 2 contains an unlabeled expense (822 *nom.*, 15.25 *ker.*) that may be for *obryza* on the 12,694 *solidi* εἰς τὴν πρόσδο(ον), *solidi* “for the tax,” in l. 3.³¹ The sum of these two lines is given in l. 4: 13,516 *nom.*, 15.25 *ker.*, on the Alexandrian standard. The result of subtracting l. 4 from l. 1 is given in l. 5: 25 *nom.*, 15.25 *ker.* The significance of this last figure is not clear; it is far too low to be the difference between the Alexandrian and private standards. Possibly it concerns the transport of the tax to Alexandria (payments to guards, for example).

The *solidi* “for the tax” in l. 3 are problematic. They represent 51.8% of the *chrysika demosia* attested in the roughly contemporaneous *P.Oxy.* 16.1909.4-5, an account that records taxes for the Oxyrhynchite and Cynopolite *as a whole*. This percentage is implausibly high, all the more so in light of the significant percentage of estate grain that should have been destined for the *embole* (cf. first section above). No firm explanations can be put forward with our present evidence, but a few of the permutations seem worth exploring. *P.Oxy.* 16.1909 itself offers one possible solution: it reveals (ll. 3-4) that, in addition to the *chrysika demosia*, 350,000 *artabai* due from the Oxyrhynchite and Cynopolite

²⁹ Cf. J. Banaji, *Agrarian Change in Late Antiquity: Gold, Labour, and Aristocratic Dominance* (Oxford 2001) 223.

³⁰ Cf. Zuckerman (n. 15) 213-217.

³¹ *Obryza* (simply put, a charge to cover wear and tear on the coinage): the rate here would be 6.49%, slightly higher than the 6.25% that we find in *P.Oxy.* 1.144 (which also concerns a tax payment by the *oikos*). “For the tax:” cf. *P.Oxy.* 1.144.5, *PSI* 8.953.68-69, 78.

were to be adaerated into gold (precisely: into 35,000 *solidi*).³² One might envisage a similar (or even the same) instance of adaeration in *P.Oxy.* 18.2196.v. The curious absence of any mention of grain *anomalata* in *P.Oxy.* 18.2196.v has already been noted, as has the fact that the money taxes increased disproportionately to the increase in receipts (as compared to the figures from *P.Oxy.* 16.1918.v). If we assume that *P.Oxy.* 18.2196.v's grain taxes had been adaerated, its "money" taxes become a much more plausible 21.3% of the total Oxyrhynchite and Cynopolite liability in *P.Oxy.* 16.1909 (where adaerated grain + *chrysika demosia* = 59,500 *sol.*). And if the nome-level fiscal ratio in *P.Oxy.* 16.1909 is valid for *P.Oxy.* 18.2196.v,³³ only about 5,230 of the *solidi* "for the tax" would have been intended for the *chrysika demosia*, a reduction by almost 25% of the *oikos*' money-tax liability in the 540s (unless, of course, that too included adaerated sums).³⁴ Such a reduction could reflect an actual cut in the tax rate; there is a statement, in fact, near the end of Theophylact's history, that the Emperor Maurice (who has traditionally been viewed as a miserly figure) remitted taxes by a third.³⁵ The remaining *solidi* "for the tax," i.e., the adaerated grain, at the 10 *art./sol.* rate in 1909, would be the equivalent of 74,010 *artabai*, or only about half of the Apiones' *embole* contribution in *P.Oxy.* 1.127.r. This suggests that the entire *embole* might not have been adaerated, a proposition that finds support when we calculate the Apiones' fiscal burden under a complete adaeration scenario. The result of this exercise is a mere 6-9% of the combined (grain + specie) *lemmata dia pro*().³⁶ This seems too low, given that the fiscal burden in *P.Oxy.* 16.1918.v is 18%.³⁷

³² Gascou (n. 15) 11, n. 49, links 1909 with an adaeration ascribed to the reign of Maurice by John of Nikiu. See also Zuckerman (n. 15) 217.

³³ Fiscal ratio: money tax liability (not including adaeration)/total liability. We might, however, expect the Apion ratio to have been lower, cf. the data in Banaji (n. 29), table 2. A ratio almost identical to that in 1909 occurs in *P.Oxy.* 16.1907 (which could refer to the taxes of a part of the divided estate in the wake of Apion II's death).

³⁴ 25%: reminiscent of the percentage in *NJ* 163 (Περὶ κουφισμοῦ δημοσίων, April 575), but Tiberius Constantine's reduction (on behalf of Justin II) was limited to four years.

³⁵ 8.13.17: ἀναφέρεται δὲ καὶ τὴν τρίτην μοῖραν τῶν φόρων συγχωρῆσαι τοῖς ὀπηκόοις τὸν βασιλέα Μαυρίκιον. For earlier tax *increases*, see Zuckerman (n. 15) 213-217 (but note the reservations in Keenan's review, *BASP* 42, 2005, 294-295).

³⁶ Formula: {*anomalata* – [(village *lemmata* in grain x 10 *art./sol.*) + village *lemmata* in coin]} / [(*lemmata dia pro*() in grain x 10 *art./sol.*) + *lemmata dia pro*() in coin].

³⁷ Only *lemmata* and *anomalata* in specie are at issue in *P.Oxy.* 16.1918, but, given the Apiones' prejudice for gold, one would expect a combined kind-cash percentage to be higher than one for cash alone. If we assume that no adaeration took place in *P.Oxy.*

Part 2: Some Historiographical Observations

At least since Hardy's *Large Estates of Byzantine Egypt* (1931), the holdings of the Apiones in the Oxyrhynchite have been seen (and served) as the quintessential "great estate," and even to this day, in near metonymy, they continue to function as a proxy for the larger agrarian "enterprises" of late antique Egypt.³⁸ To some extent this status is *par un heureux hasard*, the result of the archaeological "luck of the draw,"³⁹ but other factors have played a role, for instance, Grenfell and Hunt's accessible editorial model, with its articulated texts and translations.⁴⁰ But what makes an estate "great," or rather, what is the quantitative threshold for "greatness"? And why is this important? The early commentators on the Apiones' *oikos* did not attempt to calculate its size; their methods were descriptive, or they thought the data insufficient (or both). Johnson and West, for example, though certainly not averse to figures, write, "There is no way of determining the size of the [Apion] estate."⁴¹ In 1964, however, the status of the *oikos*, its grandeur, was confirmed – and probably enhanced – in A.H.M. Jones' monumental *Later Roman Empire* (p. 764), where for the first time, it was given an area: 112,000 *ar.* (\approx 30,850 *ha*), no less than 35% of the total area of the Oxyrhynchite and Cynopolite.⁴² Jones' calculation was breathtakingly simple; he merely applied the rate of the *embole* in *P.Cair.Masp.* 1.67057 (1.25 *art./ar.*)

18.2196.v, the estate's fiscal burden in that text is 29-44% of the *lemmata dia pro*() in specie, or at least 11 points higher than the comparable figure in *P.Oxy.* 16.1918.

³⁸ So most recently in Sarris (n. 11) *passim*.

³⁹ Cf. Hickey (n. 17) 296-297. No one has done more to bring the "other" Oxyrhynchite elites out of the shadows than Nick Gonis, not only in his selections of texts for *P.Oxy.* but also through articles such as "Studies on the Aristocracy of Late Antique Oxyrhynchus," *Tyche* 17 (2002) 85-97.

⁴⁰ As noted by J. Keenan, "Papyrology and Byzantine Historiography," *BASP* 30 (1993) 142-143.

⁴¹ *Byzantine Egypt: Economic Studies* (Princeton 1949) 50. Bell, in a critical review of this work, remarks only that "there can be no real doubt that the Apion holdings were considerable," *JRS* 40 (1950) 126. In this same passage he also indicates that the Apion estate was "semi-feudal," an issue that I shall not address here (but one not unrelated to the concept of the "large estate"); for further discussion see Keenan (n. 40).

⁴² Cf. A.H.M. Jones, *The Roman Economy: Studies in Ancient Economic and Administrative History*, ed. P.A. Brunt (Oxford 1974) 133; and *The Decline of the Ancient World* (New York 1966) 292. Jones' figure even drew the notice of Moses Finley, who, though ambivalent about papyrological evidence, writes that the "data ... are firm;" see *The Ancient Economy*³ (Berkeley 1999) 99, 102. Total area of the nomos: after R.S. Bagnall, *Egypt in Late Antiquity* (Princeton 1993) 334-335.

to the estate *embole* account *P.Oxy.* 1.127.r (discussed above).⁴³ A generation later Gascou's seminal "Grands domaines" called into question Jones' interpretation of the key text by proposing, in short, that the *embole* payment in *P.Oxy.* 127 was not derived solely from Apion lands but represented the *oikos*' share of a *munus*, hence the model of "fiscal shares" or "fiscal participation."⁴⁴ Despite this significant objection, Jones' figure continues to be cited, even enhanced.⁴⁵ In 2001, I used quantitative data from Apion texts concerning viticulture to argue that Jones' figure could not stand,⁴⁶ and now *P.Oxy.* 18.2196.v may be adduced as an additional *independent* support for a smaller estate and of necessity – this is why "size matters" – for Gascou's model of fiscal participation,

⁴³ For the *embole* rate in 67057, which, it should be noted, is on the low side, see Zuckerman (n. 15) 215.

⁴⁴ Gascou (n. 15); see further discussion in Hickey (n. 18) 70-74. "Seminal:" indeed, but already Hardy (n. 15) 53 had hypothesized that "the Apion estate was responsible for collecting the taxes of others besides its own tenants."

⁴⁵ See most recently Sarris (n. 11) 85, who reckons Jones figure to be "conservative" because it does not include the area of the *autourgia* or "in-hand," which Sarris argues is the market-oriented portion of the estate (e.g., p. 34, "the main source of surplus production on the Apion estates"). Here a few problems with his readings of the evidence may be briefly noted.

(1) By far, the best-attested crop on the *autourgia* is *fodder* (cf. Hickey [n.18] 192-194), hardly the archetypical cash crop – on the contrary, this is suggestive of production for estate consumption (animals for transport and irrigation) and fiscal purposes (*capitum*, animals of the *cursus publicus*). Possibly the estate had a centralized transportation corps, as Appianus' did (Rathbone, *Economic Rationalism* [n. 16] ch. 7B).

(2) Sarris adduces *P.Oxy.* 16.1913 as an example of viticulture, arboriculture etc. in the *autourgia*. But one cannot conclude from *P.Oxy.* 55.3804.266-269 that the *entire proastion* Exo tes pules was exploited directly, and even if there was an area of intensively cultivated orchards and gardens in the vicinity of the estate house that was managed in this fashion (which does not seem unreasonable), one cannot extend this model to the outlying areas of the estate without a whisper of supporting evidence (and much testimony to the contrary, e.g., texts indicating the primacy of *tenancy* in the exploitation of cash crops; see further Hickey [n. 17] 301-302 and refs.).

In any case, the suggestion that the *autourgia* was not reckoned in high-level estate accounts like *P.Oxy.* 1918 and 2196.v (and thus that the calculations in this paper are based solely on "ktematic revenues," cf. Sarris, p. 121, n. 29) is dubious, for the arrears of both non-autourgic *and* autourgic land are set against a net *lemmata* figure in *P.Oxy.* 16.1918.r.16; cf. v.13. (I thank Roberta Mazza for discussing some of these issues with me.)

⁴⁶ Hickey (n. 18) 65-74.

pace recent suggestions that his research has been “largely discredited.”⁴⁷ In *P.Oxy* 18.2196.v, we encounter the *oikos* doing just what Gascou hypothesized, accepting responsibility for the collection of the fiscal liabilities of villages that were not owned (at all or, at the least, not completely) by the estate – clearly not all Oxyrhynchite villages, but a fraction of them, that is, those in its fiscal share. The actual holdings of the Apiones’ Oxyrhynchite-Cynopolite branch, the core of this fiscal share, were certainly large but probably “only” ca. 25,000 *ar.* (6,887 *ha*) in the family’s heyday.⁴⁸

The fiscal system of the late antique Oxyrhynchite, its “public economy,” was of course inextricably linked to the “private economies” of the *oikoi*,⁴⁹ but Gascou only addressed the estates’ acquisition and exploitation of resources in a cursory fashion, no doubt because he considered the private to be derivative of the public.⁵⁰ Until a few years ago, someone interested in these topics would still have needed to consult, among other works, Hardy’s *Large Estates*, with its proto-feudal narrative, as well as the optimistic (and much-criticized) interpretation in Johnson and West’s *Byzantine Egypt: Economic Studies*.⁵¹ Around the turn of the century this situation began to change, however, with the appearance of important research by Roberta Mazza, Jairus Banaji and, most recently, Peter Sarris.⁵² The *oikoi* of these authors are hardly the autarkic estates of old, and Banaji and Sarris in particular emphasize the role of these “enterprises” as engines – principally through their substantial investments in irrigation and cash crops, as well as their “rational” deployment of labor – in the

⁴⁷ So P. Mayerson, “Mega *kankellon* and *metron* in Late Receipt and Expenditure Accounts,” *BASP* 43 (2006) 100, relying on Sarris. This is not to say that some parts of Gascou’s argument in “Grands domaines” do not require modification or excision, e.g., his hybrid *phoros* and the association of apotactic rents with *emphyteusis*, among other points; see also below (touching on his elision of the “private economy”). Note the generally positive assessment of Gascou (and acceptance of fiscal shares) in Banaji (n. 29) ch. 4 and *passim*.

⁴⁸ This estimate was determined by adding a percentage for vineyard, garden and other land to the arable figure in part 1; cf. Hickey (n. 18) 71–72. It is roughly 4,000 *ar.* larger than the ceiling presented, e.g., in Hickey (n. 17) 296, which was calculated using the viticultural data. Precision should not be expected given the current state of the evidence; one must work with orders of magnitude. Both estimates are in the same ballpark. On the impact of the *autourgia* for this calculation, see n. 45.

⁴⁹ Cf. Bagnall (n. 42) 160.

⁵⁰ Cf., e.g., Gascou (n. 15) 12.

⁵¹ Hardy (n. 15); Johnson and West (n. 41, where a review by Bell, a harsh critic, is also cited).

⁵² R. Mazza, *L’archivio degli Apioni: Terra, lavoro e proprietà senatoria nell’Egitto tardoantico* (Bari 2001); Banaji (n. 29); and Sarris (n. 11) are the monographs.

expansion of the economy of the late antique East. Out of evidentiary necessity, the Apion estate is central to the arguments of both.⁵³

Prima facie, *P.Oxy.* 18.2196.v would seem to be relevant for the question of growth, since, as was noted above in part 1, it reveals that the Apiones' target or anticipated revenues increased about 30% in the forty-odd years following the drafting of its analogue *P.Oxy.* 16.1918.v.⁵⁴ But caution is in order; the matter is not as clear cut as it might seem. It is simply impossible to determine to what extent this rise in receipts is attributable to investment, to the increased productivity for which Banaji and Sarris argue. The acquisition of more land would also augment the receipts,⁵⁵ as would the expansion of the estate's fiscal obligations (because, as indicated above, the *pronoetai* also collected from non-Apion holdings).⁵⁶ The extension of an estate, moreover, need not happen in the context of some sort of rationalizing program;⁵⁷ gold-hoarding rentiers seeking a safe and steady return could be acquisitive, particularly if opportunities presented themselves – and they did, whether through debt or other sources of misfortune.⁵⁸ Restraint would also seem to be necessary when it

⁵³ Cf. Sarris (n. 11) 196 ("as emerges with particular clarity in relation to the properties of the Apion family").

⁵⁴ "About 30%:" contra J. Gascou, "Notes critiques sur quelques papyrus des V^e et VI^e siècles," *CÉ* 47 (1972) 243-248, who wrote of stagnancy because he included the village *lemmata* in his total for *P.Oxy.* 16.1918.v but inadvertently excluded them (since he only had the *descriptum* at his disposal) from his total for *P.Oxy.* 18.2196.v. It should be noted that I used Gascou's figures in prior research, e.g., Hickey (n. 17).

⁵⁵ "Acquisition:" see, e.g., *P.Oxy.* 63.4397 (AD 545); traces of this increase in holdings may be seen in the references to the *dikaion* Diogenous in various estate texts, e.g., *P.Oxy.* 18.2195.49 (AD 576/7?).

⁵⁶ A tax increase could have had the same impact, while a reduction (or stasis) would furnish support to the arguments for growth. One might also argue (as Keith Hopkins did famously) that a tax increase would stimulate productivity. The uncertainty in the evolution of the *anomalata* (see section four in part 1) is unfortunate. The conversion of arable land to vineyard (etc.), which would produce a rise in the *lemmata*, would also result in a net increase in fiscal burden and, of course, an increase in the *anomalata* in specie.

⁵⁷ So Sarris (n. 11) 83 on the Apiones.

⁵⁸ For the characterization see, e.g., Hickey (n. 17) 301-303. The mortgage to Diogenes (n. 55 above) was inherently opportunistic. More attention needs to be paid to the role of moneylending (and the financing of trade) in the portfolios of late antique Egyptian elites. As William Harris once reminded me, *Dives agris, dives positus in faenore nummis*.

"Other sources:" including, possibly, pandemic. That *P.Oxy.* 16.1918.v probably dates to the immediate wake of the Justinianic plague may be relevant, moreover, to the discussion presented here. In Zuckerman's Aphrodite (n. 15) there is no demographic

comes to the question of animal-powered irrigation machinery (*mechanai*), at least if we are to believe later testimonia about the transforming impact of this technology. For example, Henry Villiers-Stuart, the MP for County Waterford, who was on an inspection tour of Egypt after Britain's 1882 intervention, noted, "The cost of well and water-wheel is about £30; each wheel would double the production of 10 acres, and would repay the prime cost in the first year."⁵⁹ This hardly seems to match the *lemmata* increase, which amounts to about 0.5% when annualized. While there can be no doubt that irrigation machinery continued to be maintained – the dossier is (perhaps deceptively) rich in evidence for this – and even installed on a moderate scale during the second half of the sixth century (the estate's "golden age"),⁶⁰ it is probable that any dramatic increase in productivity associated with this technology occurred earlier, possibly even before the Apiones arrived on the scene.⁶¹

catastrophe but a fiscal impact (leading, e.g., to the increased monetization of taxes mentioned above). Sarris (n. 11) 224, using data from Banaji (n. 29) table 12, cites a shortening of Egyptian leases, but those statistics, if representative, are equivocal. The lowering of rents and reduced acreage under cultivation, with a concomitant increase in high-yield viticulture and arboriculture, are other possibilities indicated by medieval sources. That any of these latter impacts should be seen behind the *lemmata* in *P.Oxy* 16.1918.v seems unlikely at the moment, but the matter would certainly benefit from additional study.

⁵⁹ H. W. Villiers-Stuart, *Egypt after the War: Being the Narrative of a Tour of Inspection* ... (London 1883) 334-335.

⁶⁰ Constraints on irrigation investment have already been suggested in Hickey (n. 17) 302. "Perhaps deceptively rich:" documentation and thus preservation were no doubt intensified by the fiscal aspect of irrigation. "Installed:" cf., e.g., *P.Oxy*. 66.4537-4538 with refs.

⁶¹ Rathbone, "Roman Egypt" (n. 16) 701 dates the widespread diffusion of the technology to the third century; see now also his "*Méchanai* (waterwheels) in the Roman Fayyum," in M. Capasso and P. Davoli (eds.), *New Archaeological and Papyrological Researches in the Fayyum* (Galatina 2007) 252-262. Sarris (n. 11) 85 cannot be cited as evidence for growth during the first half of the sixth century; he is comparing fiscal apples and oranges.

Familienfehden in Hermupolis – Theophanes und Adelphios

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Abstract

Zu den führenden Persönlichkeiten von Hermupolis gehörten im frühen 4. Jhdt. n. Chr. die beiden Ratsherren Theophanes und Adelphios, von denen sich aufgrund der Papyrusüberlieferung ein außergewöhnlich farbiges Bild zeichnen läßt. Offenbar schon länger bestehende Rivalitäten zwischen den mutmaßlichen Altersgenossen mündeten endlich zu Beginn der 320er Jahre in einen offenen Streit, der vor allem zwischen Adelphios und Theophanes' Sohn Anysios ausgetragen wird. Auch wenn dieser im wesentlichen unblutig, da zu meist vor Gericht verlief, tragen die hier faßbaren Handlungsmuster alle Züge einer Familienfehde. Allein der Umstand, daß Angehörige der großen Familien sich einen solchen Zwist leisten konnten, aber auch seine Form lassen dabei darauf schließen, daß die städtischen Verhältnisse im frühbyzantinischen Ägypten stabiler als oft vermutet waren.

Vermutlich wird nicht auf großen Widerspruch treffen, wer James G. Keenan als ausgewiesenen Kenner und Spezialisten vor allem der spätbyzantinischen Epoche Ägyptens, also des 5. bis 7. Jhdts. n. Chr., beschreibt. Eine seiner jüngsten Publikationen gilt gleichwohl einer etwas früheren Zeit, nämlich dem von John Matthews vorgelegten Band über die Reise des Theophanes nach Antiochia.¹ Anknüpfend daran und an die stets lebhaften Interessen des Jubilars an sozialgeschichtlichen Fragen möchte ich hier auf einen, soweit ich sehe, bisher wenig beachteten, aber für Theophanes selbst gewiß nicht unbedeutenden Aspekt seines Lebens eingehen: den offenbar mit Inbrunst geführ-

¹ J.G. Keenan, Bespr. von J. Matthews, *The Journey of Theophanes: Travel, Business, and Daily Life in the Roman East* (New Haven und London 2006), BASP 43 (2006) 199-203.

ten Konflikt mit seinem hermopolitischen Ratskollegen Aurelius Adelphios, der geradezu als Familienfehde bezeichnet werden kann.²

Zuerst ein Wort zu den Protagonisten Theophanes und Adelphios selbst. Ersterer ist nicht zuletzt durch das bereits erwähnte Buch von Matthews neuerdings wieder stärker in das Gesichtsfeld der Historiker gerückt, aus dem er – zumindest jenseits des engeren Kreises der Papyrologen – allzu lange zu Unrecht ausgeblendet war. Ratsherr und Gymnasiarch von Hermupolis, zeitweilig auch als Exaktor höchster ziviler Amtsträger des Gaues, kurzum, “an influential member of society and a man of high standing,”³ ist Theophanes aus seinen im wesentlichen zwischen 317 und 323 entstandenen Papieren bestens bekannt.⁴ Berühmt ist er jedoch vor allem durch seine Reise in das syrische

² Zur Definition der Fehde als “Zustand der Feindschaft zwischen zwei Parteien, die innerhalb derselben politischen Einheit oder Gesellschaft leben,” C.H.F. Meyer, “Freunde, Feinde, Fehde: Funktionen kollektiver Gewalt im Frühmittelalter,” in *Heiliges Strafen in der Spätantike und im frühen Mittelalter*, hrsg. v. J. Weitzel (Köln, Weimar und Wien 2002) 211–266, bes. S. 215, auch zitiert von C. Reinle, *Handwörterbuch zur deutschen Rechtsgeschichte*² 1 (2008) 1515–1525 s.v. Fehde, bes. Sp. 1515. Die streng ritualisierte Form des Konfliktaustrags, wie sie für die hoch- und spätmittelalterlichen (Adels-)Fehden kennzeichnend ist (vgl. allerdings auch C. Reinle, *Bauernfehden: Studien zur Fehdeführung Nichtadliger im spätmittelalterlichen deutschen Reich, besonders in den bayerischen Herzogtümern* [Stuttgart 2003]) oder auch die etwa von K.F. Otterbein, *Feuding and Warfare: Selected Works of K.F. Otterbein* (Amsterdam 1994) gegebene Definition als “armed combat between the fraternal interest groups within a political community” (S. xix–xx) stellen insofern lediglich besondere Ausprägungen dieses Phänomens dar, wie denn auch das häufig anzutreffende Konzept der Blutrache nicht zwingend hiermit verbunden sein muß. Als “Familienfehde” wird man näherhin einen langandauernden und generationenübergreifenden Konflikt zwischen zwei Familien bezeichnen dürfen, in dem Phasen offen ausgetragener Feindseligkeiten typischerweise mit längeren Ruhepausen wechseln, wofür als bekanntestes Beispiel der – unhistorische – Zwist der veronesischen Häuser Montague und Capulet in Shakespeares *Romeo und Julia* dienen mag.

³ B.R. Rees, “Theophanes of Hermopolis Magna,” *BJRL* 51 (1968) 164–183 (*ed. pr.* von SB 12.10803), bes. S. 165.

⁴ Vgl. bes. *P.Ryl.* 4.616–651 und *P.Herm.* 2–6, aber etwa auch SB 12.10803; auf ihn ist wohl auch der – warum auch immer – getilgte Eintrag in *P.Bas.* 14.5 (4./5. Jhdt.; vgl. jedoch bereits *P.Louvre* 2.120, Einl. sowie Komm. zu Z. 9) zu beziehen, während für eine Identifikation mit dem gleichnamigen Advokaten in dem bilinguen Prozeßprotokoll *P.Harrauer* 46.3 = *ChLA* 41.1188 + *SPP* 20.283 (= *ChLA* 45.1325) nach Meinung der Edd. “kein Anlaß” bestehe, vgl. ebenda den Komm. Zur Datierung des ‘Archivs’ bes. *P.Ryl.* 4, S. 105; allem. auch, neben den beiden bereits genannten Arbeiten, H. Cadell, “Les archives de Théophanès d’Hermoupolis. Documents pour l’histoire,” in *Egitto e storia antica dall’ellenismo all’età araba. Bilancio di un confronto*, hrsg. v. L. Criscuolo und G. Geraci (Bologna 1989) 315–323.

Antiochia geworden, die auch im Mittelpunkt des genannten Bandes steht. Da Theophanes sorgfältig Buch über sämtliche Details dieser Reise führte, können wir nicht nur die von ihm eingeschlagene Route genau verfolgen, sondern es ließen sich daraus etwa auch Lebenshaltungskosten und Ernährungsverhalten während eines Monats in Antiochia rekonstruieren.⁵

Interessanter noch, was die Planung und Durchführung von Reisen der provinziellen Eliten betrifft, erscheinen allerdings die lateinischen Empfehlungsschreiben, die sich Theophanes zuvor von hohen römischen Funktionsträgern besorgt hatte, damit ihre Amtsgenossen ihm Schutz und Aufnahme auf dem Reiseweg gewährten. Wenn wir gleich zwei davon besitzen, könnte dies sogar darauf hindeuten, daß Theophanes sie am Ende nicht einmal benötigte.⁶ Beide stammen von Vitalis, der einem anderen Papyrus zufolge καθολικός bzw. *rationalis*, also für die gesamte Finanzverwaltung der drei ägyptischen Provinzen zuständig war,⁷ und sind an einen Achillius und einen Delphinus gerichtet.⁸ Daß es sich bei ersterem um den Statthalter von *Phoenicia* handelte, geht lediglich aus einem griechischen Nachtrag von dritter Hand auf dem Verso hervor; der Empfänger des zweiten Briefes ließ sich bisher dagegen ebenso wenig identifizieren wie die anderen in den Schreiben erwähnten Personen, die offenkundig als Referenz angegeben werden.⁹ Auch Theophanes selbst wird

⁵ So nach dem Titel eines Aufsatzes von H.-J. Drexhage, "Ein Monat in Antiochia: Lebenshaltungskosten und Ernährungsverhalten des Theophanes im Payni (26. Mai - 24. Juni) ca. 318 n.," *MBAH* 17.1 (1998) 1-10; Vorbehalte allerdings bei Matthews (Anm. 1) 3, Anm. 6; vgl. auch allgem. S. 41ff., zu "Food and Diet" bes. Kap. 8, S. 163ff. Zu einer Datierung der Reise auf die Zeit zwischen 320 und 324, möglicherweise genauer (mit Verweis auf R.S. Bagnall, *Egypt in Late Antiquity* [Princeton 1993] bes. S. 271 Anm. 76) das Jahr 322 oder 323, ebenda S. 35; ebenso Keenan (Anm. 1) 199.

⁶ Zu einem möglichen Einsatz gegenüber Dritten – möglicherweise dann auch hier mit "magical" rather than "meaningful value," wie von Keenan (Anm. 1) 200 in einem anderen Fall formuliert – Matthews (Anm. 1) 40.

⁷ So nach SB 26.16763.1.5-6 = *P.Vind.Bosw.* 14.4-5 (um 317-323); zum Amt selbst R. Delmaire, *Largesses sacrées et res privata. L'aerarium impérial et son administration du IV^e au VI^e siècle* (Rome 1989), bes. S. 172 ff.; vgl. auch ders., *Les responsables des finances impériales au Bas-Empire romain (IV^e-VI^e s.). Études prosopographiques* (Bruxelles 1989); ders., "Le personnel de l'administration financière en Égypte sous le Bas-Empire romain (IV^e-VI^e siècles)," *CRIPEL* 10 (1988) 113-138.

⁸ *ChLA* 19.687 = *CPL* 262 = *CEL* 1.222 = A. Moscadi, "Le lettere dell'archivio di Teofane," *Aegyptus* 50 (1970) 88-154, bes. S. 101ff., Nr. 1, bzw. *P.Ryl.* 4.623 = *ChLA* 4.253 = *CPL* 263 = *CEL* 1.223 = Moscadi, 107, Nr. 3; eine englische Übersetzung des ersteren jetzt auch bei Matthews (Anm. 1) 33.

⁹ Hierzu jetzt auch Matthews (Anm. 1), bes. S. 35-36, 37-38. Die ebenda, S. 34 mit Verweis auf *PLRE* 1.247 s.v. Delphinus angeführte Deutung des zweiten Adressaten

darin nur als *scholasticus*, also Gelehrter oder genauer Rechtskundiger, vorgestellt, obwohl der Verweis auf die – den Adressaten anders als uns zweifellos bekannten – Personen dafür spricht, daß er einen wie auch immer gearteten offiziellen Auftrag besaß.¹⁰ Insofern hat man aber wohl auch die abschließende Versicherung des Vitalis ernstzunehmen, er habe Theophanes dieses Schreiben ganz aus eigenem Antrieb ausgestellt, was er noch mit einem Schwur bei dem gemeinsamen Heil und dem der jeweiligen Kinder bekräftigt. Der übereinstimmende Wortlaut der beiden Briefe könnte sonst nämlich zu der Annahme verleiten, Theophanes habe sie Vitalis geradezu in die Feder diktiert. Denn sicher vermochte nur eine solche persönliche Note dem Brief die nötige Aufmerksamkeit zu verschaffen, angesichts der Tausende ähnlicher Empfehlungsschreiben, die ein hoher Amtsträger so im Laufe eines Tages erhielt.

Auch die sonstige Korrespondenz des Theophanes ist indes noch bemerkenswert genug – nicht nur deswegen, weil man lange Zeit gemeint hatte, in ihm und seinen Briefpartnern seien nicht irgendwelche beliebigen Angehörigen der gebildeten lokalen Oberschicht, sondern geradezu Exponenten des heidnischen Widerstands gegen das Christentum in Ägypten zu erkennen. Hierfür schienen bereits der literarisch anspruchsvolle Stil und die auffälligen Grußformeln zu sprechen, in denen etwa Hermes Trismegistos angerufen wurde, wie überhaupt der vom üblichen Sprachgebrauch der Papyri deutlich unterschiedene Umgangston; zudem gehörten nicht nur ein ἀρχιπροφήτης,¹¹ sondern sogar ein mit dem gewählten Ausdruck ἀγλαίσμα als “Zierde der Priester” apostrophierter Mann zu diesem Kreis.¹² Kaum überraschend also, daß B.R. Rees, der Herausgeber der meisten dieser Briefe, auch die Syrienreise des Theophanes hiermit hatte verbinden wollen: eigentliches Anliegen sei es gewesen, an höchstem Ort die Bedenken gegen die neuen religiösen Strömungen vorzutragen.¹³ Die Indizien sind jedoch kaum eindeutig genug, und in anderen Briefen scheinen sich wiederum eher christliche Elemente zu finden.¹⁴

als “governor of Palestine” speist sich lediglich aus der Parallelität der beiden Texte und der Reiseroute des Theophanes.

¹⁰ Hierzu zuletzt eingehend Matthews (Anm. 1) 37ff., demzufolge “the business in hand was financial” (S. 38); zu einer anderen Deutung etwa auch unten Anm. 13 mit Text.

¹¹ *P.Herm.* 3.26 = Moscadi (Anm. 8) 126ff., Nr. 8 (= *BL* 6:51); eine englische Übersetzung jetzt auch bei Matthews (Anm. 1) 22.

¹² *SB* 12.10803.19 = Moscadi (Anm. 8) 147ff., Nr. 12; eine englische Übersetzung jetzt auch bei Matthews (Anm. 1) 23.

¹³ Vgl. nur Rees (Anm. 3), bes. S. 181ff.

¹⁴ So bes. in *P.Herm.* 4 = Moscadi (Anm. 8) 130ff., Nr. 9 = M. Naldini, *Il cristianesimo in Egitto*² (Firenze, 1998) 181ff., 438–439, Nr. 38; dezidiert so etwa auch Bagnall (Anm.

Demgegenüber ist die zu seinem Kontrahenten Adelphios alias Dionysodoros erhaltene Evidenz alltäglicher und damit zugleich vielfältiger, vor allem aber sehr viel umfangreicher. Dies insbesondere, wenn man die gesamte Familie in den Blick nimmt, die herkömmlicher Sichtweise nach wenigstens drei verschiedene ‘Archive’ hinterlassen hat. Hauptpersonen sind darin zum einen Adelphios selbst, zum anderen seine Frau Charite und zum dritten beider Sohn Asklepiades; zudem hat man kürzlich in Demetria alias Ammonia, der Mutter der Charite, die ‘Herrin’ eines weiteren ‘Archivs’ zu entdecken gemeint.¹⁵ Den geschlossensten Komplex bilden hierunter die Papiere des Asklepiades, die im wesentlichen um das Jahr 340 entstanden sind und größtenteils um seine Tätigkeit als *praepositus pagi* kreisen, während das sonstige, mehr oder weniger über die gesamte erste Jahrhunderthälfte verteilte Material eher fließende Grenzen besitzt. Anders als bei den Archiven des Asklepiades oder Theophanes haben wir es dabei vornehmlich mit den üblichen Dokumenten aus der Gutsverwaltung zu tun – Verträgen, Abrechnungen, Steuerquittungen, Auszahlungsanweisungen –, wonach die Familie, stellt man die dort genannten Größenangaben in Rechnung, zweifellos zu den führenden Grundbesitzern des Hermopolites gezählt werden muß.

5) 272, bes. Anm. 78, demzufolge “*P. Herm.* 4-5 are certainly Christian, and *P. Herm.* 6 offers enough New Testament echoes to warrant a characterization as Christian too;” ähnlich zuletzt auch Matthews (Anm. 1) 29-30.

¹⁵ Zu Adelphios: vgl. v.a. *CPR* 17A.1-30; zu ergänzen sind inzwischen *CPR* 23.26 (320) sowie 27 (um 320/1), vielleicht auch *P.Sijp.* 47 (3./4. Jhdt.). Zu Asklepiades: v.a. *CPR* 17A.31-39; vgl. auch die Übersicht über die Dokumente aus seiner Tätigkeit als *praepositus pagi* in der Einl. zu *P.Louvre* 2.120, bes. S. 110-111 unter Nr. 15; zu ergänzen sind dort *P.Cair.Pris.* 33 (7.4.341, mit *BL* 7:36) sowie bes. *P.Vindob. G* 39759 (26.4.-24.6.340), ed. F. Mitthof, *Tyche* 19 (2004) 123ff., wo Asklepiades erstmals in einem zweiköpfigen Kollegium von Pagusvorstehern begegnet (nach *P.Duke* inv. 666, einem Schreiben des Strategen Aurelius Dioskurides an einen *praepositus* des 15. *pagus* namens Nearchides vom 8.5.340, auf welchen mich Klaas Worp mit e-mail vom 6.3.2006 freundlicherweise aufmerksam gemacht hat [APIS record: duke.apis.31194721], dürfte in *Z.* 3 wohl [Νεαρχίδης] zu ergänzen sein, was auch von der Buchstabenanzahl her gut paßt). Zu Charite: v.a. *P.Charite* sowie *CPR* 17A Anh. b. Zu Demetria alias Ammonia: jetzt bes. *P.Harrauer* 38-45 sowie *SB* 26.16818-16819 (mit irriger Überschrift, vgl. *SB* 27, S. 55); eine Übersicht über die sie betreffenden Dokumente zuletzt bei N. Kruit und K.A. Worp, “*P.Vindob.Boswinkel* 5: An Expanded Re-edition,” *AnPap* 13 (2001) 81-90, bes. S. 86. Vgl. auch allgem. die Bemerkungen von A. Martin, “Archives privées et cachettes documentaires,” in *Pap.Congr. XX*, 569-577, bes. S. 576 f. sowie die anlässlich der Neu-ed. von *P.Vind.Bosw.* 5 = *SB* 26.16502 (1.-8.304) vorgelegte Rekonstruktion des Stammbaums bei Kruit und Worp, 89-90; zu den verschiedenen Familienmitgliedern namens Amazonios auch unten Anm. 40.

Dies ist selbstverständlich ebenso für Theophanes anzunehmen, wiewohl die diesbezüglichen Texte hier verloren sind. Beiden Männern war zudem dieselbe hohe gesellschaftliche Stellung gemein – auch Adelphios war, wie seinen gelegentlich genannten Titeln und Ämtern zu entnehmen ist, Ratsherr und Gymnasiarch von Hermupolis, vielleicht auch *curator civitatis*; im Jahr 321 hatte er überdies den Ratsvorsitz inne. Wenn demnach beide vom Rang wie vom Alter her mehr oder weniger gleichwertig waren, liegt freilich die Vermutung nahe, daß sie auch in gewisser Konkurrenz zueinander standen, ja selbst handfestere Rivalitäten auf Dauer kaum ausbleiben konnten. In der Tat muß sich zwischen beiden Familien eine herzliche Feindschaft entwickelt haben, die sogar in den Papyri Niederschlag fand. Ein Kulminationspunkt war offenbar zu Beginn der 320er Jahre erreicht, als Adelphios mehrfach in Auseinandersetzungen mit Theophanes' Sohn Anysios verwickelt erscheint.

Letzterer war bereits aus der Korrespondenz des Theophanes bekannt, genauer aus einem Brief des Hermodoros, in welchem Theophanes' mutmaßlicher Schwager dem wohl in Alexandria weilenden Vater von den Entwicklungen daheim berichtet. Darin versichert er ihm, daß Anysios und sein Bruder Aphthonios wohlauf seien und ihre Pflichten erfüllten, indem sie sich gleichermaßen um die privaten wie auch die öffentlichen Angelegenheiten kümmerten; auch ihre Schwestern mitsamt der Mutter und überhaupt alle im Hause seien wohlauf.¹⁶ An einen Anysios ist auch ein Brief mit verschiedenen Anweisungen gerichtet, den Theophanes von seiner Antiochiareise aus in die Heimat schreibt. Daß es sich dabei ebenfalls um diesen Sohn handele, ist zuletzt allerdings wieder angezweifelt worden.¹⁷ Erst kürzlich war zudem aus einer undatierten Liste von *praepositi pagi* zu ersehen, daß Anysios zu

¹⁶ Vgl. nur *P.Herm.* 5 = Moscadi (Anm. 8) 133ff., Nr. 10, bes. Z. 15 ff. εὐθύμει δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς υἱοῖς ἡμῶν Ἀνυσίῳ τε καὶ Ἀφθονίῳ, ὅτι ὑγιαίνουνσι καὶ τὰ δέοντα πράττουσιν, ἐπιμελοῦμενοι τῶν πραγμάτων ὁμοῦ καὶ τῶν λειτουργημάτων, ὑγιαίνουνσι δὲ καὶ αἱ ἀδελφαὶ αὐτῶν σὺν τῇ μητρὶ καὶ πάντες οἱ [κ]ατὰ τὸν οἶκόν σου. Eine englische Übersetzung auch bei Matthews (Anm. 1) 23ff., der zudem – allerdings nur mit Verweis auf Bagnall (Anm. 5) – auch über die von G. Bastianini, "Note a P. Herm. Rees 5: Lettera di Ermodoro a Teofane," *Anagennesis* 3 (1983) 161-165, rekonstruierten Verwandtschaftsverhältnisse handelt, wonach Theophanes' Schwester die Frau des Hermodoros war.

¹⁷ *P.Ryl.* 4.625 = Moscadi (Anm. 8) 114-115, Nr. 5 (= *BL* 6:124); hierzu auch Matthews (Anm. 1) 31ff. mit englischer Übersetzung, der entgegen Moscadis Vorschlag, in Z. 2 [υἱ]φ zu lesen, wieder auf das in der *ed. pr.* ergänzte [τῷ κυρί]φ zurückkommt, da "the terms in which Theophanes addresses Anysius do not, however, seem consonant with this, and it is more likely that Anysius was someone else, in some way a colleague or associate" (S. 32).

unbekanntem Zeitpunkt den 3. *pagus* des Hermopolites verwaltete, bemerkenswerterweise nur in kommissarischer Funktion.¹⁸

Wesentlich mehr ist hingegen über ihn aus den Papieren seines Gegenspielers Adelphios zu erfahren, mit dem es im Frühjahr 321 zu den bereits erwähnten Auseinandersetzungen kam. Erstmals hören wir davon im Rahmen der Untersuchung, die Adelphios vermutlich beim Exaktor beantragt hatte,¹⁹ weil er 13 Aruren Grünfutter abgeweidet fand. Genau eine Woche, nachdem die Flurwächter den entsprechenden Auftrag erhalten hatten, erstatten sie am 5. April 321 Bericht: "Da du auf die Eingabe des Adelphios, des Sohnes des Adelphios, Gymnasiarchen und Rats Herrn von Hermupolis hin Aufschluß verlangst, wer es war, der das Arakos-Grünfutter von dreizehn Aruren mähen oder abweiden ließ, setzen wir notwendigerweise deine Anständigkeit davon in Kenntnis und erklären, daß Anysios, der Sohn des ehemaligen Exaktors Theophanes, seine Schafherde dorthin getrieben hat und diese Schafe es waren, die die dreizehn Aruren Grünfutter abgeweidet haben, und daß nichts davon gelogen ist."²⁰ Da sowohl der Auftrag als auch der Bericht auf ein und demselben Papyrus in einer Abschrift erhalten sind, die sich unter den Papieren des Adelphios fand, sollte sein hohes Interesse an dieser Auskunft außer Frage stehen. Über seine unmittelbare Reaktion ist freilich nichts in Erfahrung zu bringen, und auch vom Fortgang dieser Sache ist des weiteren nichts mehr bekannt.

Um so mehr hören wir dagegen von einem zweiten, nur wenig späteren Streit, den dieses Mal offenbar Adelphios vom Zaune bricht. Inzwischen vom Gymnasiarchen zum Ratsvorsitzenden avanciert, nutzt Adelphios seine neuerrungene Stellung wie auch die Abwesenheit des Theophanes, der sich einmal mehr in Alexandria befand, um offenbar aus heiterem Himmel ein Verfahren über die Besitzansprüche des Anysios an einem bestimmten Landstück anzustrengen. Zur allseitigen Überraschung taucht jedoch im letzten Moment der in der Hauptstadt vermutete Vater seines Widersachers auf und sucht mit einem beherzten Auftritt die Sache doch noch zu seines Sohnes Gunsten zu wenden. Wie weit dem Erfolg beschieden war, bleibt uns indes erneut ver-

¹⁸ *PLouvre* 2.120.4 Ἀνυσίῳ διαδεχομένῳ γ πάγου (2. Viertel 4. Jhdt.).

¹⁹ Das Präskript von *CPR* 17A.16 = *P.Vindob. Worp* 3 (nach dem 5.4.321) ist verloren, doch komme von den von Worp in der Einl. zu *CPR* 17A.16, bes. S. 44 genannten Amtsträgern, bei denen derartige Klagen wegen βία eingereicht werden konnten, nach J. D. Thomas, "A Note on *CPR* XVII A 16," *Tyche* 9 (1994) 183-185, bes. S. 183 Anm. 10 "most probably the strategos/exactor," allenfalls noch der *praepositus pagi* infrage.

²⁰ Vgl. nur die Abschrift in *CPR* 17A.16 = *P.Vindob. Worp* 3, bes. Z. 16ff.; der Auftrag an die Flurwächter darin in Kol. 1 (29.3.321; hierzu bes. Thomas [Anm. 19] = *BL* 10:60), ihr hier größtenteils wiedergegebener Bericht in Kol. 2 (5.4.321).

schlossen, wenngleich diesmal aus anderem Grund – die Abschrift aus dem Amtstagebuch des Exaktors, die Adelphios sich auch hier wieder zu beschaffen verstand und aus der wir allein von dieser neuerlichen Auseinandersetzung erfahren, bricht an der entscheidenden Stelle ab.²¹

Bis dahin nimmt die Sache allerdings einen hochdramatischen Verlauf, der hier ausnahmsweise im Detail referiert zu werden verdient. Als der Vater endlich persönlich eingreift, ist der Höhepunkt der Entwicklung bereits erreicht, denn der maßgebliche Termin steht unmittelbar vor der Tür – *ὡς οἴομαι, σήμερόν ἐστιν ἡ κυρία*, wie er sagt. Theophanes ist daher eigens aus Alexandria angereist, paßt den Exaktor, der sich gerade zum Statthalter begeben will, auf offener Straße am nördlichen Stadttor ab und beschwört ihn, das drohende Verfahren als unzulässig abzuweisen. Schließlich handele es sich bei dem fraglichen Landstück nachweislich um Besitz von Anysios' Mutter, und insofern wäre eine solche Klage allenfalls gegen seine Frau, nicht jedoch gegen den Sohn zu richten gewesen. Hatte der anberaumte Termin schon Theophanes unter Zeitdruck gesetzt, stand der auf dem Weg zum Statthalter befindliche Exaktor offenkundig unter noch größerem. Jedenfalls läßt er jede Bereitschaft vermissen, sich auf eine Diskussion über derlei diffizile Details einzulassen, und kommt Theophanes nur so weit entgegen, daß er ihm einen weiteren Termin für das Schiedsverfahren einräumt. Von einem solchen Schiedsverfahren will nun wiederum Theophanes nichts wissen, sondern beharrt vielmehr darauf, daß die Klage des Adelphios auf einem Rechtsirrtum basiere und damit schlichtweg gegenstandslos sei. Mit dem neuerlichen Verweis des Exaktors auf die Möglichkeit eines Ersatztermins bricht der Papyrus ab, was darauf deuten mag, daß er zumindest bei dieser Gelegenheit Theophanes die gewünschte Entscheidung versagte. Ob er sich am Ende dessen Argumentation anschloß oder Adelphios doch noch mit der gegen den Sohn angestregten Klage zum Zuge kam, bleibt insofern jedoch offen.

Die Heftigkeit der gegenseitigen Reaktionen läßt freilich ahnen, daß der Konflikt sehr viel ältere Wurzeln hatte. Eine davon datiert vielleicht schon fünf Jahre früher, als nämlich Theophanes seinerseits das Amt des Strategen bzw. Exaktors bekleidete und als solcher über einen Rechtsstreit zwischen Adelphios und dessen ehemaligen Pächtern zu befinden hatte. Nach einer an ihn gerichteten Eingabe, welche Adelphios erneut in Abschrift besaß, hatten drei Brüder auf ein Jahr zwei Weingärten mitsamt fünf Obstpflanzungen von dem letzteren gepachtet; als Entlohnung für ihre Leistungen stand ihnen ein Viertel der Traubenernte zu. Kurz bevor sie die Arbeiten zum Abschluß hatten bringen können, habe jedoch Adelphios plötzlich, ohne jeden äußeren Anlaß

²¹ CPR 17A.18 (24.7.321).

und ohne Rücksicht auf die geschlossenen Verträge, seinen Verwalter in das Dorf geschickt, der sie erst an der Fortführung der Arbeiten hinderte und am Ende sogar ganz vertrieb. Sie wenden sich nun an den Exaktor mit der Bitte, wenigstens den Lohn für das bereits Geleistete zu bekommen.²²

Daß die Pächter sich trotz des erheblichen sozialen Gefälles nicht davon abhalten ließen, mit einer solchen Eingabe gegen den mächtigen Grundherrschaftsvorzug, wurde schon bisher als willkommenes Indiz dafür gedeutet, "that rural tenants of seemingly humble status could use legal institutions in this way to protect what they regarded as their legal rights"²³ – wenngleich sofort mit dem Hinweis versehen, daß "this particular petition may have fallen on friendly ears, since the *strategos* in question, restored as Aurelius Theophanes, was himself an office-holder at Hermopolis, and, later at least (in AD 321), was involved in a continuing legal dispute with the family of Adelphios."²⁴ In der Tat scheint es angesichts der offenbar berechtigten Klagen der Pächter durchaus denkbar, daß Theophanes sich in diesem Fall über die Solidarität der Standesgenossen hinwegsetzte und den Streit zu ihren Gunsten entschied. Ob ihm die Klage gerade zupass kam, weil die Auseinandersetzungen zwischen ihm und Adelphios ohnedies schon länger anhielten, oder ob sein Vorgehen in dieser Sache womöglich erst der Auslöser dafür war, muß vorläufig dahingestellt bleiben.²⁵

²² CPR 17A.6 (316?; mit BL 10:59). Da in Z. 16 ausdrücklich von einem *μισθός* die Rede ist, dürfte das eigentliche Objekt der Pacht entgegen der – dann offenkundig unpräzisen – Formulierung in Z. 3-4 *ἐμισθωσάμεθα ... ἀμπελικά χωρία δύο* vielmehr die *χειρική ἀμπελοφυτική ἐργασία* gewesen sein und also eine sog. *μισθωσις τῶν ἔργων* vorliegen; zu diesem ursprünglich auf den Oxyrhynchites begrenzten, im 4. Jhdt. allerdings auch im Hermopolites nachweisbaren Vertragstyp bes. A. Jördens, *Vertragliche Regelungen von Arbeiten im späten griechischsprachigen Ägypten* (*P.Heid.* 5; Heidelberg 1990), bes. S. 222ff. Kap. IV; dies., "Μισθωσις τῶν ἔργων: ein neuer Vertragstyp," in *Pap. Congr. XIX*, 2:259-270. Zu ergänzen ist inzwischen *P.Col.* 10.280 (269-277, Oxy.); der nunmehr mit Ergänzungen in *P.Col.* 10.284 neuedierte *P.Heid.* 5.343 hat sich zudem als Duplikat von *P.Heid.* 5.344 = SB 22.15769 erwiesen (beide 24.-29.8.311).

²³ So D. Kehoe, "Legal Institutions and the Bargaining Power of the Tenant in Roman Egypt," *APF* 41 (1995) 232-262, bes. S. 257; zustimmend auch J.S. Kloppenborg, *The Tenants in the Vineyard: Ideology, Economics, and Agrarian Conflict in Jewish Palestine* (Tübingen 2006) 546ff., Nr. 57, bes. S. 548.

²⁴ Kehoe (Anm. 23) 258, Anm. 70.

²⁵ Vgl. auch bereits vorsichtig Worp in der Einl. zu CPR 17A.6, bes. S. 26: "Es scheint mir möglich, daß spätere Spannungen zwischen Adelphios und Theophanes ... dadurch erklärt werden können, daß Theophanes in einem Fall wie in diesem Text zu Gunsten der Kläger, also gegen Adelphios, entschieden hat."

Nach alldem scheint jedoch keineswegs ausgeschlossen, daß auch in dem nicht genauer bezeichneten Anysios, der einer Eingabe des Adelphios zufolge zusammen mit einem Phibion und sechs weiteren Genossen aus dem Dorf Prere in dessen Besitzungen eingedrungen war, der Sohn des Theophanes zu erkennen ist.²⁶ Eine solche Subsumierung unter den Dorfbewohnern von Prere erschiene zwar etwas merkwürdig, doch wäre sehr gut vorstellbar, daß Adelphios sich bewußt für diese Version entschied – etwa um die Pikanterie der Entdeckung, wer sich unter dem Rädelsführer tatsächlich verbarg, dem Exaktor zu überlassen und nachher um so überzeugender den Überraschten spielen zu können. Ein Indiz in diese Richtung könnte immerhin das Datum dieser Eingabe bieten, das nur wenige Wochen vor der von ihm beantragten Untersuchung über die, wie sich dann herausstellte, von Anysios' Schafherde abgeweideten Aruren lag. So hatte Klaas Worp in seiner Edition denn auch eine Verbindung zwischen all diesen Vorfällen ziehen wollen und sogar die vorsichtige Überlegung gewagt, ob nicht womöglich auch der Streit um das angebliche Landstück von Anysios' Mutter hiermit zu verbinden sei. Sollte es sich am Ende tatsächlich um nur ein einziges Landstück gehandelt haben, das zwischen den beiden Familien strittig war, würde verständlich, warum Adelphios sich gegen die in seinen Augen unberechtigten Ansprüche des Anysios beim Statthalter wehrt und mit der von diesem erwirkten *subscriptio* den Exaktor dazu bringt, ein Schiedsgericht über die Eigentumsfrage anzuberaumen – eben das Schiedsgericht, das Theophanes um jeden Preis abzuwenden sucht. Umgekehrt wäre auch nachvollziehbar, warum Anysios keinerlei Unrechtsbewußtsein hatte, sich mit Hilfe ihm verpflichteter Bauern erst in den Besitz des fraglichen Landes zu bringen und es dann auch abweiden zu lassen, da er es für mütterliches Eigentum hielt.

Die Berechtigung des jeweiligen Vorbringens ist für uns freilich ebenso schwer zu überprüfen wie für den Exaktor, der sich auf dem Weg zum Statthalter mitten auf der Straße aufgehalten fand, da hier wie dort jegliche Unterlagen fehlen. Abgesehen davon mag der aus Prere stammende Anysios doch auch jemand gänzlich anderes gewesen sein, da der Name zu dieser Zeit durchaus häufiger in den Papyri begegnet.²⁷ Denn daß Adelphios auch sonst mit manch einem Zeitgenossen in Streit lag, der Konflikt mit der Familie des

²⁶ CPR 17A.15 (nach 22.2.321; mit BL 10:60).

²⁷ Vgl. nur den Komm. zu *P.Louvre* 2.120.4 sowie bereits oben Anm. 17 mit Text. Wie wenig aus dem bloßen Zusammentreffen der Namen zu schließen ist, mag etwa auch der Eintrag Ἀνυσίῳ παραπ(οσίῳ) εἰλ(ης) Ἀδελφίου in der Ausgabenliste SB 16.12825.r.15 (337/8, mit BL 8:386; 9:293; 10:216) verdeutlichen, wo in Ἀδελφίου nach J. Gascou, Einl. zu *P.Sorb.* 2.69, bes. S. 84 = BL 10:216 vielmehr der zuvor allein aus spätantiken Texten bekannte hermopolitische Ort dieses Namens zu erkennen ist, in dem die fragliche *ala*

Theophanes jedenfalls nicht der einzige war, stellen die Dokumente seines Archivs hinlänglich klar.

So hatte er etwa in unbekannter Sache gegen einen Philopoimen vor dem Gericht des Statthalters Klage geführt. Als jener bei der daraufhin eingeleiteten Untersuchung auf Zeugen verweist, stellt Adelphios dies kurzerhand als Verleumdung dar und fordert, stattdessen vielmehr andere, ihm näher stehende Zeugen zu hören.²⁸ Strittige Besitzansprüche dürften erneut der Anlaß für die von ihm beantragte Landvermessung in der Flur von Sinape gewesen sein; auch hier gelangte der Bericht darüber in die Akten des Adelphios.²⁹ Übergriffe von Dorfbewohnern prangert Adelphios in einer weiteren Eingabe an den Strategen bzw. Exaktor an: mit der für Dörfler geradezu typischen Dreistigkeit hätten sie Erntearbeiten auf der οὐσιακῇ γῇ bei Taruthis vorgenommen, obwohl dieses Land erst von seinem Vater und nun auch von ihm mit hohem Aufwand bewirtschaftet worden sei.³⁰ Wie jetzt ein direkt anschließendes Wiener Fragment erkennen läßt, hat Adelphios später, ähnlich wie im Fall der abgeweideten Aruren, Eingabe und Untersuchungsauftrag des Strategen für seine Akten auf ein einziges Blatt kopiert.³¹

Offenbar hatte er den Bogen jedoch schließlich überspannt, denn seine letzte Eingabe aus dem Jahr 322 bezieht sich auf einen Überfall, der auf ihn und seinen Kollegen verübt worden war, als sie in dem westlich von Hermupolis gelegenen Hafenort Kleopatra die Schiffsbauarbeiten leiteten. Die ihm dabei zugefügten Verletzungen haben möglicherweise zu seinem Tod geführt, denn das von ihm beantragte Gutachten des öffentlichen Arztes berichtet von einer Wunde am linken Ohr, die auf einen Schädelbasisbruch schließen lassen könnte.³² Die Täter stammten angeblich ebenso aus Tertonepa wie die drei Brüder,

stationiert war. Daß unser Anysios zu diesem Zeitpunkt als *praefectus alae* diente, ist dagegen nicht rundweg auszuschließen.

²⁸ CPR 17A.24 = SPP 20.100 (um 321/2); der Name des Kontrahenten ist allerdings weitgehend ergänzt, vgl. auch ebda. den Komm. zu Z. 4.

²⁹ CPR 17A.22 = P.Cair.Preis. 8 = W.Chr. 240 (321).

³⁰ CPR 17A.9b = P.Cair.Preis. 4 = W.Chr. 379 = FIRA 3.187 (7. oder 17.4.320), bes. Z. 14 κωμητικῇ αὐθαδίᾳ χρῆσάμεν[οι]; hierzu auch Kehoe (Anm. 23) 258.

³¹ Vgl. jetzt CPR 23.26 (320).

³² CPR 17A.23 (322), mit dem Referat von Adelphios' Eingabe in Z. 9ff. Auch hier bricht der Papyrus wieder an entscheidender Stelle ab, so daß nicht völlig sicher ist, daß in Z. 18 tatsächlich Adelphios' Verletzung beschrieben ist; angesichts der eingangs genannten Reihenfolge der Opfer wie auch des in Z. 19 folgenden] ἄρξαντο[ς wird man dies gleichwohl für das Wahrscheinlichste halten. Ob Adelphios danach noch selbst zur Abfassung der Eingabe imstande gewesen sein kann oder sie nur in seinem Namen erfolgte, ist kaum mehr zu klären.

die sieben Jahre zuvor den Prozeß vor Theophanes gegen ihn geführt hatten.³³ Nach alledem, was wir sonst von Adelphios kennengelernt haben, mag dieser Überfall jedenfalls nicht von ungefähr gekommen sein, zumal Kleopatra und Tertonepa, das etwa 30 km nördlich von Hermupolis lag, keineswegs Nachbardörfer waren. So schien es denn auch schon dem Herausgeber Klaas Worp ein "durchaus glaubhaftes Szenario, daß Leute aus Tertonepa – Pachtbauern? – eine Rechnung mit ihm offen hatten und dabei zu weit gingen."³⁴

Andererseits wird man sicherlich auch zu würdigen haben, daß, wie wiederum Dennis Kehoe bemerkt, "Adelphios did not resort to self-help when he saw his own rights to land threatened, but, like the tenants in the previous case" – dem oben erörterten Streitfall vor dem Exaktor Theophanes – "relied upon conventional legal remedies."³⁵ Ob wir daraus zugleich auf funktionierende staatliche Mechanismen der Streitbeilegung schließen dürfen, ist indes noch lange nicht gesagt. Adelphios' spöttischer Hinweis – den er wohlgerne dem Exaktor gegenüber verlauten läßt –, die Bauern von Taruthis könnten sich ja, wenn sie unbedingt wollten, mit ihrem vermeintlichen Anspruch an das Gericht des Statthalters wenden,³⁶ legt vielleicht sogar eher die gegenteilige Annahme nahe, daß damit jede Hoffnung ihrerseits auf eine mögliche Bestätigung ihrer Position endgültig zu begraben war. So mag die Einschaltung des Exaktors unter Umständen sogar der bequemere Weg gewesen sein, die eigenen Interessen möglichst reibungslos durchzusetzen, und zwar ohne sich dabei selbst die Hände schmutzig zu machen.

Letztlich wird man wohl auch Theophanes' Aktion am Stadttor in diese Richtung zu deuten haben. Scheu, den Exaktor gegebenenfalls auch persönlich anzugehen und unter Druck zu setzen, bestand jedenfalls nicht, da sich die Honorationen in der Regel wohl darauf verlassen konnten, von dem Standesgenossen wunschgemäß bedient zu werden. Funktionierte dies ausnahmsweise einmal nicht, wird die Erbitterung über eine solche Normverletzung nur um so größer gewesen sein. Hierin mag vielleicht auch die "Schuld" des Theophanes gelegen haben, wenn denn der Streitfall zwischen Adelphios und seinen Pächtern aus dem Jahr 316 in diesen Rahmen zu stellen ist. Sollte er mit seiner früheren Entscheidung diesen unausgesprochenen Erwartungen zuwiderge-

³³ Vgl. nur CPR 17A.23.11-12 δηλούν[τ]ων ἐπέλευσιν πεπονηθῆ[ναι διὰ] τῶν ἀπὸ κώμη[ς Τ]ερτονεπᾶ mit CPR 17A.6.2-3 τῶν τριῶν ... ἀπὸ κώμης Τξε[ρ]τονεπᾶ (mit BL 10:59).

³⁴ Worp, Einl. zu CPR 17A.23, bes. S. 56.

³⁵ Kehoe (Anm. 23) 258.

³⁶ CPR 17A.9b = P.Cair.Pris. 4 = W.Chr. 379 = FIRA 3.187 (7. oder 17.4.320), bes. Z. 19ff. εἰ [δὲ ν]ομίζουσι δίκαιόν [τι] ἔχειν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ταύτης, ἀπαντησάτωσαν [ἐ]πὶ τὸ ἡγ[ε]μονικὸν δικαστήριον.

handelt haben, könnte dies in der Tat die Schärfe der späteren Auseinandersetzungen erklären, zumal eine gewisse Rivalität, wie eingangs dargelegt, schon durch Rang und Alter gegeben war.

Daß derartige Konkurrenzkämpfe in der Regel nicht direkt zwischen den Kontrahenten ausgefochten werden konnten, liegt auf der Hand. Schon aus Rücksicht auf den Frieden der Gemeinschaft hatten sich die Oberhäupter der Familien vielmehr die offene Konfrontation zu versagen, die man stattdessen den rangniederen Mitgliedern überließ. Den jungen Männern kam damit der aktive Part in der Auseinandersetzung zu, während sich ihre Väter im Hintergrund halten und gegebenenfalls sogar als Streitschlichter bewähren konnten.³⁷ Dem entspricht auch hier das Auftreten des jungen Anysios, bei dem es sicher nicht einfach Leichtsinn und Unerfahrenheit waren, weswegen er sich mit dem mächtigen Adelphios anlegte. Wenn wir letzteren hingegen durchweg selbst agieren sehen, dann vermutlich vor allem, weil die uns erhaltene Dokumentation zu wesentlichen Teilen aus dem von ihm zusammengetragenen Aktenmaterial zu seinen Rechtsstreitigkeiten besteht.

Trifft die Annahme jedoch das Richtige, daß dies nur eine – wichtige – Facette der hier herrschenden Familienfehde ist, wir es dabei jedoch grundsätzlich mit einer Form der Konfliktaustragung zwischen rivalisierenden Familien

³⁷ Obwohl man dies für eine Konstante in solchen Zwistigkeiten halten sollte – so sind es etwa auch in *Romeo und Julia* durchweg Vertreter der jüngeren Generation oder gar Bediente, die den Konflikt vorantreiben –, hat eine erste, zugegebenermaßen unsystematische Musterung anthropologischer Literatur bislang erstaunlich wenig Parallelen erbracht. Abgesehen davon, daß sich der Blick dort vorzugsweise auf einzelne, etwa um Führungspositionen konkurrierende Individuen oder gleich auf sehr viel größere Gruppen wie Clans oder ganze Dorfgemeinschaften richtet, bedarf es demnach wohl auch besonderer Aufmerksamkeit für derartige Phänomene; dies fehlt etwa bei Otterbein (Anm. 2), der die "localized groups of related males," aus denen sich die seiner Auffassung nach für "feuding" konstitutiven "fraternal interest groups" zusammensetzen (S. xix), in dieser Hinsicht nicht weiter ausdifferenziert. Vgl. aber immerhin S. Schwandner-Sievers, "The Enactment of 'Tradition': Albanian Constructions of Identity, Violence and Power in Times of Crisis," in *Anthropology of Violence and Conflict*, hrsg. v. B.E. Schmidt und I.W. Schröder (London und New York 2001) 97-120, zu dem im postkommunistischen Nordalbanien wiederbelebten *kanun*, in dessen Rahmen "young men can acquire prestige through directing violence against village outsiders, whereas prestige of the elders is constructed in the context of appeasement and authority exercised inside the villages" (S. 106-107, vgl. auch bereits S. 104-105; das zweifellos vom griechischen *κavών* abgeleitete *kanun* dürfte sich freilich erst sekundär von einem Ehrenkodex zum "Ottoman term of local customary self-governance" – so die Deutung S. 101 – entwickelt haben). Eine derartige 'Aufgabenteilung' zwischen den Generationen ließe sich im übrigen auch bei den Partekämpfen in der späten römischen Republik erkennen, hält man sich die Rolle mancher Volkstribunen vor Augen.

zu tun haben, in der der offene Schlagabtausch üblicherweise an Mitglieder der nachfolgenden Generation delegiert wurde, sollte freilich mit noch ganz anderen Auseinandersetzungen zwischen den beteiligten Parteien zu rechnen sein. Insofern traf es sich sicher gut, daß beide Familien ausgesprochen kinderreich waren. So war Theophanes, wie seinen Briefen zu entnehmen ist, mit mindestens vier Söhnen und zwei Töchtern gesegnet;³⁸ stolze Eltern von wenigstens drei Söhnen scheinen auch Adelphios und Charite gewesen zu sein, wobei letztere ihrerseits mit fünf Geschwistern aufgewachsen war.³⁹ Daß derlei auch politische Bedeutung besaß, wenn es um den Einfluß in der Stadt ging, wird man zuversichtlich annehmen dürfen. Schließlich standen die Familien auch in Konkurrenz, sobald Positionen zu bekleiden waren. So wissen wir im Fall von Adelphios' Familie beispielsweise, daß außer Asklepiades auch noch sein Bruder Diokles und sein Cousin Amazonios in den 340er Jahren als *praepositi pagi* amtierten.⁴⁰ Aus der Familie des Theophanes finden wir bisher zwar nur unseren Anysios in einer solchen Funktion – zur selben Zeit übrigens wie den eben genannten Amazonios –, doch ist dies wohl erneut nur dem besonderen Zuschnitt seines Archivs und also dem Überlieferungszufall zu danken.⁴¹

Insofern sollte auch der Umstand, daß wir hier nur einen zeitlich begrenzten Ausschnitt der Auseinandersetzungen zwischen den beiden Familien fassen können, nicht gegen die Deutung als Fehde sprechen. Da die Zusammensetzung unseres Materials ohnehin nur selten Einblick in die Strukturen sozialen Miteinanders gewährt, stellt schon dies eine wesentliche Bereicherung unserer Kenntnisse dar. Einsichten, wie sie aus den Zeugnissen des spätantiken-frühbyzantinischen Hermupolis über die Formen der Kommunikation innerhalb der Oberschicht einer solchen provinziellen Stadt und ihre Kontakte

³⁸ Vgl. das Schreiben der Söhne Hephaistion und Horigenes an Theophanes *P.Ryl.* 4.624 = Moscadi (Anm. 8) 108ff., Nr. 4 (= *BL* 6:124); hierzu jetzt auch Matthews (Anm. 1) 27ff., mit englischer Übersetzung S. 29. Die Söhne Anysios und Aphthonios sowie, nach dem Plural zu schließen, mindestens zwei Töchter sind zudem in dem bereits erörterten Brief des Schwagers Hermodoros *P.Herm.* 5 = Moscadi (n. 8) 133ff., Nr. 10 erwähnt, vgl. bereits oben Anm. 16.

³⁹ Vgl. nur den bereits in Anm. 15 erwähnten Stammbaum und die dort genannten Texte.

⁴⁰ Vgl. nur innerhalb der Liste der Pagusvorsteher in der Einl. zu *P.Louvre* 2.120, bes. S. 110ff. als Nr. 2 Amazonios, den Sohn von Charites Bruder Euthalios (hierzu auch ebda. den Komm. zu Z. 5), sowie als Nr. 14 Diokles, Sohn des Adelphios (zu ergänzen ist jetzt *P.Sijp.* 22 [31.3.349]). Der neue Beleg für Amazonios in *P.Cair.* CG 10614.7 (4. Jhdt.; ed. N. Salem, *BACPS* 21, 2004, 73ff.) ist dagegen wohl eher dem – ebenda in der Einl. noch nicht vom Enkel unterschiedenen – Vater der Charite zuzuordnen.

⁴¹ Vgl. in der in der vorigen Anm. genannten Liste Nr. 4, mit dem bereits oben in Anm. 18 erwähnten *P. Louvre* 2.120.4 (2. Viertel 4. Jhdt.).

nach außen, über die Provinzgrenzen hinweg zu gewinnen sind, wird man andernorts jedenfalls vergeblich suchen.

Gerade auch das Beispiel des weltläufigen Theophanes mit seinen häufigen Aufenthalten in Alexandria, besten Kontakten zu hohen römischen Funktionsträgern, daneben aber auch hartnäckig verteidigten Familieninteressen im heimatlichen Hermupolis zeigt dabei mehr als deutlich, daß der soziale Rang, die ökonomische Potenz und der Aktionsradius dieser provinzialen Eliten trotz aller lokalen Verwurzelung nicht zu unterschätzen sind.⁴² Zugleich wird darin auch etwas von der Bedeutung von Hermupolis als urbanen Zentrums sichtbar, einer Stadt, die durchaus reichsweites Ansehen besaß. Zwar hatte sie dies, was zunächst als Kuriosum erscheinen mag, in erster Linie ihren Schwerathleten zu verdanken, die sie im 3. Jhdt. berühmt gemacht hatten. Doch stellt sich dies in anderem Lichte dar, wenn wir sehen, daß auch diese Pankratiasten aus alteingesessenen Familien stammten, eine griechische Bildung im Gymnasion genossen hatten, hochrangige städtische Ämter bekleideten und mitunter sogar Mitglieder des Museion in Alexandria oder kaiserliche Prokuratoren wurden.⁴³ Daß die Angehörigen führender Familien wie hier Theophanes und Adelphios es sich leisten konnten, miteinander in Fehde zu liegen und diese Auseinandersetzungen gegebenenfalls auch vor Gericht auszutragen, wird dabei paradoxerweise eher als Zeichen von relativer Sicherheit zu werten sein, da eine wie auch immer geartete äußere Bedrohung, gegen die man hätte zusammenhalten müssen, offenkundig nicht bestand.⁴⁴ Nach alldem

⁴² Daß dies trotz der Singularität des Falles keineswegs isoliert zu betrachten ist, hat zuletzt v.a. das sog. Ammon-Archiv gezeigt; hierzu bes. P. van Minnen, "The Letter (and Other Papers) of Ammon: Panopolis in the Fourth Century A.D.," in *Perspectives on Panopolis: An Egyptian Town from Alexander the Great to the Arab Conquest*, hrsg. v. A. Egberts, B.P. Muhs und J. van der Vliet (Leiden, Boston und Köln 2002) 177-199; vgl. aber etwa auch die Familie des Synesios mit T. Schmitt, *Die Bekehrung des Synesios von Kyrene. Politik und Philosophie, Hof und Provinz als Handlungsräume eines Aristokraten bis zu seiner Wahl zum Metropoliten von Ptolemaïs* (München und Leipzig 2001) *passim*, bes. zusammenfassend S. 715ff.

⁴³ Vgl. nur M. Drew-Bear, "Les athlètes d'Hermoupolis Magna et leur ville au 3^e siècle," in *Pap.Congr. XVIII*, 2:229-235.

⁴⁴ Unter den in diesem Fall zahlreichen Parallelen aus anthropologischer Literatur sei beispielhaft nur Schwandner-Sievers (Anm. 37) zitiert: "In 1997, when Albania completely disintegrated and everyone, anticipating the need of self-defence, armed himself, north Albanians expressed pride in the fact that there were, temporarily, no cases of homicide in their area, and that feuding was suspended for the time of the so-called 'war'" (S. 106); ähnlich auch Otterbein (Anm. 2), S. 98 und *passim*; vgl. etwa auch die von P.K. Nayak, *Blood, Women and Territory: An Analysis of Clan Feuds of the Dongria Khonds* (New Delhi 1989) formulierte Regel "When the inter-clan feuding is

wird man doch eine gewisse Stabilität der sozialen Strukturen zu dieser Zeit unterstellen dürfen; von der häufig vermuteten Krise der Städte im 4. Jhdt. kann demnach zumindest in Hermupolis und wohl in Ägypten als ganzem kaum die Rede sein.⁴⁵

active there is no chance for the development of intra-clan feud, nor do the intra-clan feuds themselves give rise to inter-clan feuds” (S. 104), wobei in unserem Fall an die Stelle des Clans die städtische Gemeinschaft zu setzen wäre.

⁴⁵ Zu einem vergleichbaren Ergebnis hinsichtlich des 3. Jhdts. zuletzt K. Ruffing, “Wirtschaftliche Prosperität im 3. Jahrhundert. Die Städte Ägyptens als Paradigma?” in *Deleto paene imperio Romano. Transformationsprozesse des Römischen Reiches im 3. Jahrhundert und ihre Rezeption in der Neuzeit*, hrsg. v. K.-P. Johne, Th. Gerhardt und U. Hartmann (Stuttgart 2006) 223-241; zu Hermupolis bes. S. 226ff.

Zwei *officiales* in Nöten¹

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Abstract

Die beiden Wiener Papyri, die im vorliegenden Beitrag publiziert werden, bieten Einblicke in die konkrete Lebenssituation zweier *officiales*. Der erste Text, der Brief eines *agens in rebus* an seinen Vater, handelt von der Aufhebung des privilegierten Gerichtsstandes (*praescriptio fori*) des Schreibers durch einen kaiserlichen Erlaß (*pragmatica sanctio*) im Zuge eines Rechtsstreites, der vor dem *praefectus Augustalis* ausgetragen wurde und sich vermutlich um das Erbe einer Person drehte, die weitläufig mit einem Philosophen namens Helladios verwandt war. Der zweite Text ist das Hypomnestikon eines *praefectianus* an einen unbekannten Adressaten (eventuell einen städtischen Beamten), in welchem der Schreiber sich entschuldigt, daß er nicht auf den Adressaten habe warten können, um ihm in einer amtlichen Angelegenheit behilflich zu sein, weil das Schiff, mit dem er, der Schreiber, nach Nikiu reisen wollte, abgefahren sei. In diesem Schriftstück wird unter anderem auch ein *assessor* Praesentinus erwähnt, der mit dem gleichnamigen Rechtsgelehrten identisch sein könnte, der jener Kommission angehörte, die im Jahre 528 mit der Erstellung der ersten Fassung des *Codex Justinianus* betraut wurde.

Der nachstehende Beitrag bietet die Erstedition zweier spätantiker Schriftstücke aus der Wiener Sammlung, die mehrere verbindende Elemente aufweisen: Zum einen wurden sie von subalternen Beamten des staatlichen Verwaltungsapparates (*officiales*) aufgesetzt, und zwar möglicherweise eigenhändig; zum anderen befanden sich diese *officiales* in einer schwierigen Lage. Beide Texte illustrieren demnach konkrete Lebenssituationen von Vertretern

¹ Amphilochios Papathomas dankt der Kommission für Antike Rechtsgeschichte der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften für einen Reisekostenzuschuß, der ihm den für die Genese dieses Beitrages notwendigen Aufenthalt in Wien ermöglicht hat. Alle Zeitangaben sind nachchristlich.

einer Personengruppe, die zwar für die Verwaltung des Reiches von großer Bedeutung war, in den Quellen aber allzuoft nur schemenhaft erkennbar ist – ungewöhnliche Einblicke also, von denen wir hoffen, daß sie dem Jubilar besondere Freude bereiten.

1. *P.Vindob. G 31576. Brief eines agens in rebus über die Aufhebung der praescriptio fori*

Der Papyrus enthält den Brief eines *agens in rebus* (μαγιστριανός) an seinen Vater. Die Namen der beiden Korrespondenten sind nicht erhalten. Im ersten Teil des Briefes (Z. 1-7) berichtet der Absender von Vorgängen, die ihn selbst betreffen; im zweiten Teil (Z. 7-13) erkundigt er sich nach dem Befinden des Vaters, befragt diesen nach dem Zustand ihrer gemeinsamen Ländereien und erteilt ihm Anweisungen zu deren Bewirtschaftung. Am Schluß stehen, wie in der antiken Epistolographie üblich, Grüße des Absenders an Verwandte und Bekannte, die sich beim Adressaten aufhalten (Z. 13-14). Dieser residiert, wie man aus der Erwähnung der Ortschaft Enseu schließen darf, im Hermopolites, und zwar vermutlich in Hermupolis, der Metropole des Gaus; der Schreiber weilt hingegen an einem anderen Ort, allerdings, wie Z. 6 vermuten läßt, nicht in Alexandria.

Aus dem Bericht, der im ersten Teil des Briefes gegeben wird, ist zu ersehen, daß der Briefschreiber in rechtlichen Schwierigkeiten steckt. In Alexandria sei nämlich ein Vertreter des *exsecutor* der *schola agentum in rebus* eingetroffen – diese Person kam also direkt vom Kaiserhof in Konstantinopel – und habe beim *praefectus Augustalis* eine Entscheidung des Herrschers (*pragmatica sanctio*) deponiert, die unmittelbare Wirkung für seinen, des Briefschreibers, rechtlichen Status (τύχη) habe, sowie eine Vorladung (παράστασις) zum Erscheinen in Alexandria, also vor dem Gerichtshof des *praefectus Augustalis*. Kläger seien die Erben des Onkels der Ehefrau des Philosophen Helladios sowie weitere Personen.

Inwiefern die *pragmatica sanctio* den Status unseres *agens in rebus* modifizierte, wird in dem Brief zwar nicht explizit gesagt, ergibt sich aber mit einiger Gewißheit aus dem Kontext. Hintergrund des Vorganges war eine beim *praefectus Augustalis* anhängige Klage. Es ist daher anzunehmen, daß der Kaiser den privilegierten Gerichtsstand (*praescriptio fori*) des Briefschreibers aufgehoben hatte.² Gleich anderen Angehörigen der *scholae palatinae* genossen die *agentes in rebus* nämlich das Vorrecht, sich in rechtlichen Streitfällen nur vor

² Zum Folgenden vgl. A.H.M. Jones, *The Later Roman Empire, 284-602: A Social, Economic, and Administrative Survey* (Oxford 1964), 489-494; M. Clauss, *Der magister officiorum in der Spätantike (4.-6. Jahrhundert). Das Amt und sein Einfluß auf die kai-*

dem Leiter ihrer Behörde, dem *magister officiorum*, verantworten zu müssen, nicht hingegen vor anderen Gerichtsinstanzen wie den Provinzstatthaltern. Wie zahlreiche spätantike Gesetze bezeugen, gewann dieses Privileg im Laufe des 4. und 5. Jh. zunehmend an Bedeutung, da die Leiter der Hofbehörden immer mehr Streitfälle an sich zogen. Zugleich führte es aber auch zu Mißständen, da jene *palatini*, die sich – wie dies auch bei uns der Fall ist – aus dienstlichen oder privaten Gründen nicht am Hof, sondern in den Provinzen aufhielten, leicht in Versuchung geraten konnten, ihre Immunität zu mißbrauchen. Wohl aus diesem Grund waren die Herrscher des 6. Jh. bemüht, den Geltungskreis des Privilegs einzuschränken.

Diese Entwicklung paßt recht gut zur mutmaßlichen Zeitstellung unseres Papyrus, dessen Abfassung, nach dem Schriftbild zu urteilen, um die Wende vom 5. zum 6. Jh., also am Übergang der ersten zur zweiten Phase, anzusiedeln ist. Die bei uns erwähnte *pragmatica sanctio* war nämlich mit Sicherheit keine allgemeine Verfügung zur Rechtsstellung der *agentes in rebus*, sondern lediglich eine Entscheidung *ad personam*, welche die Kläger – vermutlich im Wege einer Petition – vom Kaiser in Konstantinopel erwirkt hatten. Die *agentes in rebus* befanden sich also, so dürfen wir vermuten, zur Entstehungszeit des Papyrus zwar grundsätzlich noch in der Gerichtsgewalt des *magister officiorum*, doch machte der Herrscher von seinem Recht Gebrauch, zumindest in Einzelfällen die Immunität solcher Personen nach Prüfung der Sachlage aufzuheben und sie den Gerichtsinstanzen der Territorialverwaltung zu überantworten.

Mit der Umsetzung der kaiserlichen Entscheidung war vermutlich zunächst der *magister officiorum* und von diesem der *exsecutor* der *schola agentum in rebus* betraut worden. Letzterer entsandte seinerseits einen subalternen Beamten nach Alexandria. Die Tatsache, daß der *exsecutor* sich nicht mit schriftlichen Anweisungen begnügte, ist vielleicht damit zu erklären, daß nur ein Repräsentant der *schola* den *agens in rebus* – gegebenenfalls unter Anwendung von Gewalt – zwingen konnte, dem Befehl Folge zu leisten und vor dem Statthaltergericht zu erscheinen.

Was Gegenstand des Rechtsstreites war, geht aus dem Brief nicht deutlich hervor. Unklar bleibt auch die Frage, ob unser *agens in rebus* sich wegen einer inkorrekten Amtshandlung oder aber als Privatperson vor dem *praefectus Augustalis* verantworten mußte. Allerdings liefert die Tatsache, daß es sich bei der klagenden Partei zumindest im Kern um eine Gruppe von *bonorum possessores* handelte, ein starkes Indiz, daß wir es mit einem Erbstreit zu tun haben und damit um einen Konflikt, der unseren *agens in rebus* als Privat-

serliche Politik (München 1980) 76–80; R. Delmaire, *Les institutions du Bas-Empire romain, de Constantin à Justinien, I. Les institutions civiles palatines* (Paris 1995) 92–94.

person tangierte. Warum unser *agens in rebus* allerdings den Erblasser nicht beim Namen nennt, sondern die Identität dieser Person über ihr recht fernes Verwandtschaftsverhältnis zum Philosophen Helladios umschreibt, der nicht einmal zu ihren agnatischen Familienangehörigen zählte, bleibt rätselhaft. War unser *agens in rebus* mit diesem Helladios verwandt? Oder handelte es sich bei Helladios um eine Persönlichkeit, die sich allgemeiner Bekanntheit erfreute? Der Empfänger des Briefes dürfte über diese Frage ebenso wie über die Hintergründe des Rechtsstreits genauer informiert gewesen sein als wir und daher besser verstanden haben, wovon sein Sohn sprach.

Hermopolites

18.5 x 29.5 cm

5.-6. Jh. n. Chr.

Die obere linke Ecke des Papyrus fehlt. Oben und rechts ist der Originalrand erhalten; unten ist das Blatt abgebrochen, links ist lediglich der Freirand verlorengegangen. Knapp unterhalb des oberen Randes verläuft waagerecht eine Klebung. Die Schrift läuft auf dem Rekto quer zu den Fasern (*transversa charta*). Die Tinte ist stellenweise abgerieben. Auf dem Verso auf der Höhe von Z. 13–14 des Rekto befindet sich kopfstehend die dreizeilige Adresse; diese ist größtenteils verloren (die Partien links des Freiraumes für die Schnürung und Siegelung fehlen fast völlig) und überdies stark verblaßt. Die Schrift ist eine routinierte Geschäftskursive. Der Duktus ist extrem flüchtig; überdies unterläßt es der Schreiber vielfach, den Kalamos abzusetzen, wodurch sich mitunter recht ungewöhnliche Gebilde ergeben, so etwa das ο in Z. 8: ὀλίγων, das mit einem Kreuz ausgefüllt zu sein scheint, oder das σ in Z. 4: μεγαλοπρεπεστάτου. Ungewöhnlich ist auch das ρ in Z. 1 und 8: περί; an beiden Stellen hat der Schreiber den Körper des Buchstabens zweimal gezeichnet, nämlich nicht nur mit der üblichen Pik-As-förmigen Ligatur ρ, sondern überdies auch durch einen rechts neben dieses Gebilde gesetzten halbkreisförmigen Bogen. Der Text ist an mehreren Stellen, vermutlich vom Schreiber selbst, korrigiert worden.

- ↓ 1 [± 40] βούλομαι [σ]ε εἰδέναι πρὸ πάντων τὰ περὶ
[± 40 τῇ] γὰρ δεκάτῃ τούτου τοῦ μηνὸς κατέ-
[λαβεν τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν πρὸς [ιμος ± 10 ἐ]κβίβαστοῦ τοῦ ἀπὸ τῆς
καθοσιομένης
- 4 [σχο]λῆς τῶν μαγιστριανῶν παραθέμενος ἐπὶ τοῦ μεγαλο-
πρεπεστάτου κόμιτος
καὶ Αὐγουσταλίου ᾿πραγματικὸν ᾿φανερὰν δύναμιν ἔχοντα περὶ τῆς
ἐμῆς τύχης, ἔτι μὴν καὶ παράσ-
τασί μου εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν, ὧν μέρος ἐστὶν οἱ διακάδοχοι τῶν
πραγμάτων τοῦ
θείου τῆς κυρᾶς Ἑλλαδίου ᾿τοῦ ᾿φιλοσόφο[υ] καὶ [ἄλλοι τ]ινές.
καταξιώσατε οὖν ᾿ν ᾿γνωρίσαι ᾿μοι ᾿διὰ γραμ-

- 8 μάτων ἡμῶν περὶ τῆς ὑγιείας καὶ τῆς κ[ατα]στάσεως τῶν ὀλίγων
 πραγμάτων ἡμῶν,
 εἴπερ τινὲς ὑπερέπραξαν ὑμᾶς ἢ ἔβλαψεν ὑμᾶς ἢ παρώρησεν. οἱ
 γεωργοὶ ἐπλή-
 [ρ]ωσαν τοὺς φόρους ἡμῶν; ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος περὶ πάντων μάθω.
 φρόντισον ὁ δὲ τῆς
 γεωργίας τῆς Ἐνσεῦ ἕως ἂν συναπαντήσω πρὸς ὑμᾶς σὺν θεῷ. ἡ
 Νεφερώς
- 12 τὸν γεωρ[γὸ]ν ἢ Παῦλον τὸν υἱὸν Παπγουθίου, ἱς ἐξ αὐτῶν, ἄπελθε
 εἰς Ἐνσεῦ
 [τ]έως καὶ γεώ[ργησον] τὴν γῆν ἐκείνην. προσαγορεύω Εὐστοργία
 καὶ Κλαυδία κα[ὶ]
 [. .] . . . [± 4] . . κ[αὶ] Ἄπα Ἰσίδ[ωρον ± 7] . . ε[. .] κ[αὶ] π[ά]ντες
 τοὺς ἀδ[ελφούς]

Verso

→ 15 [] [. . . .]
[] . . . [. .] . vacat πατρί π(αρά) Ἀπ[± 5]
μαγιστριαν[ο]ϋ

3 καθωσιωμένης; καθοσιωμένης: *alterum* ο *ex* μ *rap.* 4 κόμητος
5-6 παράστασίν μου 6 διακάτοχοι 8 ὕμῶν; ὕγιειας *rap.*; πραγ'ματων
rap. 9 εἴπερ: εἰ *ex* υ *rap.*; ὕμας *rap.*; ἔβλαψαν; ὕμας *rap.*; παρώρισαν
11 συναπαντήσω: ω *ex* ι *rap.*; ὕμας *rap.* 12 ὁ γεωργὸς ἢ Παῦλος ὁ υἱός;
παῦλος *rap.*; υἱον *rap.*; εἷς; ἱς *rap.*; ἀπελθέτω 13 γεωργησάτω; Εὐστοργίαν;
Κλαυδιαν; κλαῦδια *rap.* 14 ἰσιδ| *rap.*; πάντας

“... möchte ich, daß du vor allen anderen Dingen über ... weißt. Am zehnten Tag des gegenwärtigen Monats ist nämlich in Alexandria ein *proximus* ... des *exsecutor* aus der *devotissima schola* der *magistriani* eingetroffen und hat beim *magnificentissimus comes et Augustalis* eine *pragmatica sanctio* hinterlegt, die eindeutige Geltungskraft für meine Rechtsstellung besitzt, und außerdem ein Dokument, das meine Vorführung vor Gericht in Alexandria verlangt. (Klagende) Streitpartei in dieser Sache sind die *bonorum possessores* des Onkels der Frau des Philosophen Helladios und einige andere Personen.

Seid nun bitte so gut, mich durch einen Brief von Euch über Eure Gesundheit in Kenntnis zu setzen und über den Zustand unserer spärlichen Besitzungen, ob irgend jemand zuviel Abgaben von Euch eingefordert oder Euch geschadet oder die Grundstücksgrenzen verletzt hat. Haben die Bauern unseren Pachtzins gezahlt? Laß' mich augenblicklich über alles erfahren. Kümmere

Dich auch um die Bewirtschaftung der Ländereien in Enseu, bis ich, so Gott will, bei Euch eintreffe. Entweder Nepheros, der Pachtbauer, oder Paulos, der Sohn des Papnuthios, einer von beiden soll sich sofort nach Enseu begeben und das dortige Land bestellen. Ich grüße Eustorgia und Claudia und ... und Apa Isidoros ... und alle Brüder ...

Verso: "(An N. N.), den Vater von Ap-, *agens in rebus*."

Zeilenkommentar

1] βοῦλομαι [σ]ε εἰδέναι: Die alternative Lesung θέλω ὑμᾶς εἰδέναι halten wir aus paläographischen Gründen für weniger wahrscheinlich. Der dezidierte Hinweis, den Adressaten informieren zu wollen, ist in Papyrusbriefen eine verbreitete Floskel und steht dabei gerade in der Spätantike oftmals, wie dies auch hier der Fall ist, am Beginn des Corpus; vgl. z. B. *P.Heid.* 7.410.1 und *CPR* 25.28.1 sowie ferner die in *CPR* 25.25.7 Komm. angeführte Literatur. Die vorliegende Stelle könnte wie folgt zu ergänzen sein: [± 17 διὰ τούτων μου τῶν γραμμάτων] βοῦλομαι [σ]ε εἰδέναι κτλ.; man beachte in diesem Zusammenhang Z. 7-8: διὰ γραμμάτων ἡμῶν (*l. ὑμῶν*).

[σ]ε: In den folgenden Partien des Briefes verwendet der Schreiber bei der Anrede des Adressaten vornehmlich den Höflichkeitsplural. Ein solcher Wechsel des Numerus ist in der spätantiken Epistolographie ein recht verbreitetes Phänomen; vgl. *CPR* 25.35, Einl. S. 213; *P.Heid.* 7.410, Einl. S. 222; *P.Köln* 7.317, Einl. S. 102.

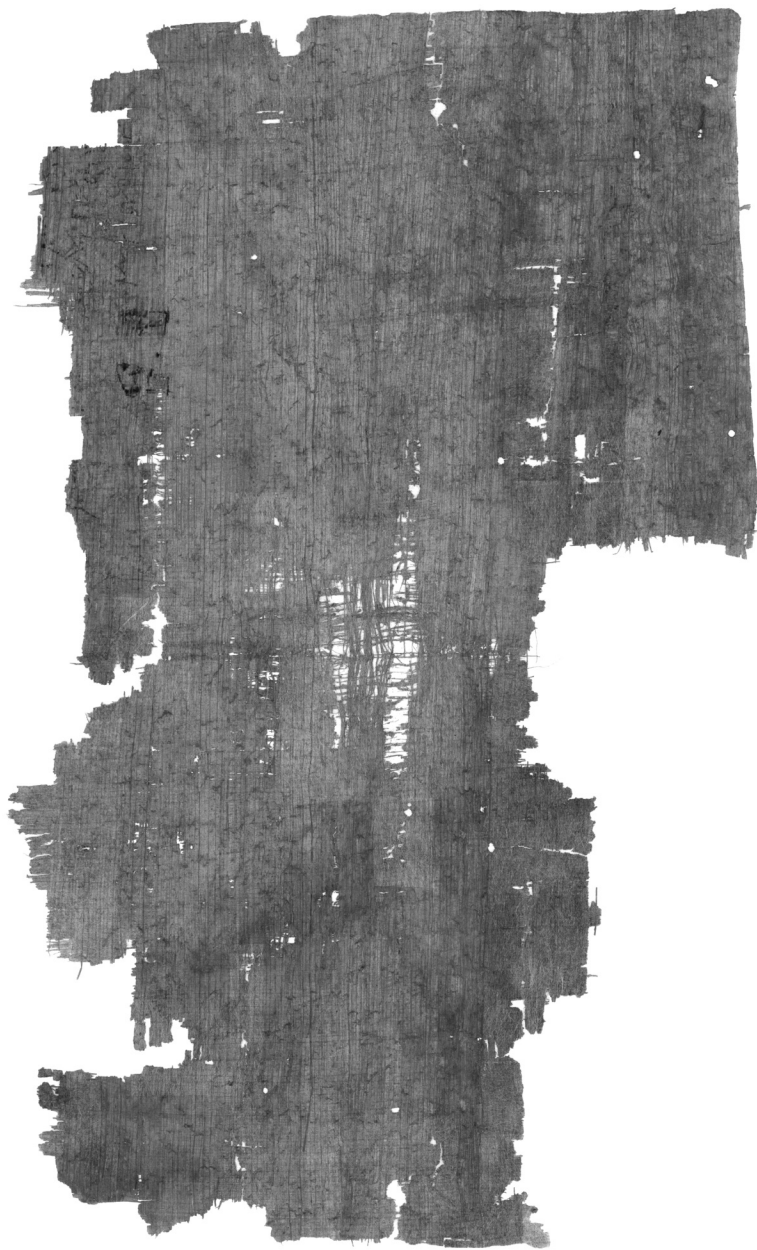
πρὸ πάντων: Vgl. z. B. *SB* 6.9387.3-4 (2./3. Jh.): ὥφειλες τοῦτο πρὸ πάντων εἰδέναι.

1-2 τὰ περὶ | [± 40 : In der Lücke ist ein Ausdruck wie etwa "über meine Situation" zu erwarten.

2 τῇ] γὰρ δεκάτῃ τούτου τοῦ μηνός: Der Brief wurde also zwischen dem 11. und 30. Tag eines unbekannten Monats aufgesetzt.

3 ἐκβιβαστοῦ: Der ἐκβιβαστής (sc. τοῦ πράγματος) = *exsecutor* (sc. *negotii*) ist gemäß dem spätantiken Prozeßrecht ein Beauftragter aus dem *officium* eines Gerichtsbeamten, der dem Beklagten das richterliche Ladungsdekret bzw. die Klageschrift überbrachte, eine Sicherheit für seine Präsenz bis zum Abschluß des Verfahrens verlangte und nötigenfalls auch Zwangsmaßnahmen anwenden konnte. Es handelte sich also nicht um einen Rang, sondern um eine Funktion. In den Papyri sind *exsecutores* nur selten bezeugt; die Belege sind: *ChLA* 41.1196.10 (ergänzt; s. *app. crit.*); *P.Cair.Masp.* 1.67032.27 mit *BL* 1:105; *P.Laur.* 4.159.3; *P.Oxy.* 16.1879 = *ChLA* 47.1409.6; *P.Oxy.* 16.1881.5; *P.Oxy.*

The first thing I saw when I
 stepped out of the car was
 a beautiful view of the
 city. The sun was shining
 brightly, and the air was
 fresh. I felt like I had
 reached a new world. The
 people were friendly and
 the food was delicious. I
 was in luck. I had found
 a great place to stay. The
 hotel was just what I needed.
 I was going to have a great
 trip. I was going to have
 a great time. I was going
 to have a great experience.
 I was going to have a great
 trip. I was going to have
 a great time. I was going
 to have a great experience.



verso

63.4399.4; PSI 8.891.4; SPP 8.983.2. Besondere Aufmerksamkeit verdient dabei der in Konstantinopel abgefaßte *P.Cair.Masp.* 1.67032, da in diesem Text, wie dies vermutlich auch bei uns der Fall ist, eine Entscheidung des Kaisers, die auf dem Weg einer Petition erwirkt worden war, durch Mitwirkung eines hauptstädtischen *exsecutor* vor den Provinzgerichten in Ägypten durchgesetzt werden sollte; man beachte zu diesem Dokument die Ausführungen U. Wilckens, *APF* 5 (1909-1913) 285-286, sowie zu den Besonderheiten dieses Falles M. Kaser und K. Hackl, *Das römische Zivilprozeßrecht* (München 1996) 572, Anm. 11.

Im vorliegenden Fall ist der *exsecutor* kein Organ des Gerichtsbeamten, bei welchem das Verfahren anhängig ist (d. h. des *praefectus Augustalis*), sondern desjenigen Beamten, der die Gerichtsgewalt über den Beklagten ausübt, also des *magister officiorum*. Daß dieser Hofbeamte in Verfahren, die Angehörige seiner Behörde betrafen, *exsecutores* einsetzte, ließ sich bereits aus *CJ* 12.21.8 (484) erschließen, ein Gesetz Kaiser Zenos, in welchem die Gerichtsgebühr festgelegt wird, die von den *agentes in rebus* und anderen *palatini* an den *exsecutor* zu zahlen ist; vgl. Jones (Anm. 2) 497-498. Neu ist dagegen, daß dieser *exsecutor* seinerseits einen Vertreter – nach unserer Rekonstruktion einen *proximus* (s. unten) – einsetzen konnte, der seinen Auftrag umsetzte. Dies scheint darauf hinzuweisen, daß die *exsecutores* der *scholae palatinae* nicht fallweise bestellt wurden, wie dies bislang für *exsecutores* allgemein angenommen wird, sondern ihre Funktion über einen längeren Zeitraum bekleideten oder sogar eine permanente Dienststelle (Büro) bildeten.

In der vorangehenden Lücke ist – als Subjekt des Satzes – die Nennung desjenigen Beamten zu erwarten, der in Vertretung des *exsecutor* in Alexandria eingetroffen war. Die sicher gelesenen Buchstaben πρ vor der Lücke lassen an Amtstitel wie *primicerius*, *princeps* oder *proximus* denken. Die beiden Erstgenannten nahmen allerdings einen recht hohen Rang in ihrer jeweiligen Abteilung ein und kommen daher an der vorliegenden Stelle kaum in Betracht. Überdies passen die Spuren nach dem ρ nicht zu einem ι bzw. μ oder ν, sehr wohl aber zu ο und ξ. Wir halten daher die Ergänzung πρόξ[ιμος für ziemlich wahrscheinlich. Hinter dem Titel wäre dann in jedem Fall noch Platz für weitere Buchstaben in nicht sicher bestimmbarer Zahl. Man könnte an eine partizipiale Konstruktion denken: πρόξ[ιμος πεμφθεὶς/σταλὲς ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐ]κβιβαστοῦ; möglich schiene aber auch πρόξ[ιμος παρὰ τοῦ ἐ]κβιβαστοῦ. Zum *proximus*, einer Kategorie von Subalternbeamten der kaiserlichen *scrinia* und anderer *officia*, vgl. W. Enßlin, *RE* 23.1 (1957) 1034-1037 s. v.; für Papyrusbelege vgl. P.J. Sijpesteijn, "The 'Proper Name' Πρόξιμος/Πρώξιμος," *ZPE* 68 (1987) 158.

4 [σχο]λῆς: Zur Lesung sei bemerkt, daß die Tintenspur unmittelbar am linken Rand zur Oberlänge des κ am Anfang von Z. 5 gehören dürfte und

daß die deutlich erkennbare Wanne unterhalb des Wortes nicht Rest einer Unterlänge ist, sondern das zweite *v* im Wort Αὐγουσταλίου darstellt. Die Alternative τάξεως ist paläographisch (und wohl auch sachlich) auszuschließen. Zur *schola agentum in rebus* vgl. Clauss (Anm. 2) 23–27.

Zu den μαγιστριοι sei auf die Literatur verwiesen, die in CPR 24.11.4 Komm., CPR 24.22, Einl. mit Anm. 1–3 und CPR 25.8.3 Komm. verzeichnet ist.

5 πραγματικόν: Gemeint ist eine *pragmatica sanctio* (θεῖος πραγματικὸς τύπος) – im Westen auch als *pragmaticum* (sc. *rescriptum*) bezeichnet –, also eine kaiserliche Entscheidung, die entweder durch den Bericht eines Beamten (*suggestio*) oder durch eine Petition veranlaßt wurde. Im Unterschied zur *adnotatio* wurde eine solches Reskript, wie Kaiser Zeno klarstellt (CJ 1.23.7 [477]), nicht dem Petenten ausgehändigt (*in personam precantium*), sondern als selbständiges Schriftstück demjenigen (Gerichts-) Beamten übersandt, der mit seiner Umsetzung betraut war (*ad quemlibet iudicem*). Überdies sollte diese Entscheidung, demselben Gesetz zufolge, nicht auf Eingaben einzelner Bürger (*ad singulorum preces*) bzw. Streitfälle im Bereich des Privatrechts (*super privatis negotiis*) reagieren, sondern auf solche von Körperschaften (genannt werden *corpus, schola, curia, civitas* etc.) bzw. auf Angelegenheiten des öffentlichen Rechts (*ob causam publicam*); vgl. P. Kußmaul, *Pragmaticum und Lex. Formen spätrömischer Gesetzgebung 408–457* (Göttingen 1981) 30–35 und 77–97, sowie D. Feissel, “Pétitions aux empereurs et formes du rescrit dans les sources documentaires du IV^e au VI^e siècle,” in *La pétition à Byzance* (Paris 2004) 33–52, mit den Bemerkungen von J.G. Keenan, *BASP* 42 (2005) 276–277.

Die Gegebenheiten unseres Papyrus passen insofern zu Zenos Gesetz, als die kaiserliche Entscheidung durch eine Petition veranlaßt worden sein dürfte. Hingegen scheint die Tatsache, daß es sich nicht um öffentliche, sondern private Kläger handelt, auf den ersten Blick im Widerspruch zu diesen Bestimmungen zu stehen. Allerdings könnte schon allein aufgrund des Umstandes, daß der Angehörige einer *schola* involviert war, der Kasus als öffentliche Angelegenheit betrachtet worden sein.

Unklar bleibt, ob unsere *pragmatica sanctio* an den *magister officiorum* als den eigentlichen Gerichtsherrn des *agens in rebus* erging (und von diesem an den *praefectus Augustalis* weitergeleitet wurde) oder aber direkt an den *praefectus Augustalis* als den – infolge der Aufhebung der *praescriptio fori* – nunmehr zuständigen Richter. Wir denken, daß das Partizip παραθέμενος eher für die erstgenannte Möglichkeit spricht, da mit dem Verb παρατίθημι in den Papyri unter anderem das Deponieren einer prozeßrelevanten Urkunde bei einer Gerichtsbehörde bezeichnet wird (vgl. WB 2:258 s.v. 4), während

man die Zustellung eines Schreibens wohl eher mit dem Verb ἀποδίδωμι ausgedrückt hätte.

Unser Schreiber scheint, wie das folgende Partizip zeigt, das eher ἔχοντα als ἔχων (l. ἔχον) zu lesen ist, die maskuline Form πραγματικός und nicht das Neutrum πραγματικόν intendiert zu haben. Diese Deutung impliziert allerdings, daß er die zugehörigen Worte θεῖος und τύπος ausgelassen hat.

In den Papyri wird der Ausdruck θεῖος πραγματικός τύπος zum einen für den bekannten Erlaß Justinians über die Einquartierung der Numider in Hermupolis gebraucht (*P.Cair.Masp.* 3.67321 = *ChLA* 41.1186.1.3 [548]; *P.Lond.* 5.1663.4 [550]; *SB* 5.8028 = *ChLA* 10.464.3 [550]; zur Datierung dieser Texte s. jetzt C. Zuckerman, *Du village à l'Empire. Autour du registre fiscal d'Aphroditô* [Paris 2004] 40-42 bzw. 54-55); sodann findet er sich in zwei Urkunden, in denen verschiedene Gattungen kaiserlicher Entscheidungen angeführt werden: *P.Mich.Aphrod.* 1.65 und *P.Petra* 3.29.156. Schließlich ist er auch im Testament des Bischofs von Hermonthis Abraamios anzutreffen, und zwar bei der Aufzählung der möglichen rechtlichen Mittel zur Anfechtung der Urkunde: *P.Lond.* 1.77 (S. 231-236) = *M.Chr.* 319.46-47 (ca. 610). Das einfache Neutrum πραγματικόν, das als Lehnwort aus den lateinischen Gesetzen des Westens bekannt ist (s. oben), läßt sich in den Papyri in dieser Bedeutung nicht nachweisen. Dieser Umstand spricht ebenfalls für unsere Annahme, daß an der vorliegenden Stelle maskulines πραγματικός (sc. τύπος) intendiert ist.

5-6 Für παράστασις im Sinne von "Vorführung einer Person vor Gericht" vgl. *WB* 2:256. Im vorliegenden Fall scheint die richterliche Ladung (*conventio*) bzw. das diese bewirkende Schriftstück gemeint zu sein, also entweder die Klageschrift (*libellus conventionis*), die der *proximus* im Auftrag des *exsecutor* zusammen mit der *pragmatica sanctio* aus Konstantinopel überbracht haben könnte, oder aber das Ladungsdekret (*libellus admonitionis*) des *praefectus Augustalis*. Zum Verfahren der Prozeßladung im Rahmen des im 5. und 6. Jh. üblichen Libellprozesses vgl. D. Simon, *Untersuchungen zum Justinianischen Zivilprozeß* (München 1969) 14; Kaser und Hackl (s. oben Komm. zu Z. 3) 570-574.

Alternativ zu unserer Annahme, daß es sich bei πραγματικόν und παράστασις um zwei separate Dokumente handelte bzw. beide Begriffe als Objekte des Partizips παραθέμενος aufzufassen sind, ließe sich die Auffassung vertreten, daß παράστασις syntaktisch parallel zu δύναμις steht. Die Übersetzung des Passus lautete dann: "... eine *pragmatica sanctio* hinterlegt, die eindeutige Geltungskraft für meine Rechtsstellung besitzt und außerdem meine Vorführung vor Gericht in Alexandria verlangt." Wir sehen hier aber ein sprachliches Problem, da die dann anzunehmende elliptische Konstruktion πραγματικόν φανεράν δύναμιν ἔχοντα ... καὶ παράστασιν ... (sc. ἔχοντα)

schief wäre. Das erste Element würde nämlich eine Wirkung der *pragmatica sanctio* umschreiben (und hierzu paßt auch das Verb ἔχω), das zweite hingegen einen ihrer inhaltlichen Bestandteile nennen (und für einen solchen Gebrauch ist das Verb ἔχω ungeeignet).

6 οἱ διακάδοχοι τῶν πραγμάτων: In Rechtsurkunden aus frühbyzantinischer Zeit werden regelmäßig drei Kategorien von Erben aufgeführt: κληρονόμοι (*heredes*), διάδοχοι (*successores*) und διακάτοχοι (*bonorum possesores*). Der letztgenannte, auch bei uns vorliegende Ausdruck bezeichnet die vom Gerichtsmagistrat verliehene Erbstellung. Zum Begriff πράγματα, der hier für *bona* steht, vgl. I. Avotins, *On the Greek of the Code of Justinian* (Hildesheim 1989) 132-133. Zur Wendung διακάτοχος τῶν πραγμάτων vgl. etwa SPP 20.129.6-11 (497).

7 κυράς: Das Wort dient in den spätantiken Papyri vorwiegend als Ehrenanrede für vornehme Frauen und wird besonders gern (zumal in absoluter Verwendung) vom Dienstpersonal eines Oikos für seine "Herrin" gebraucht. In unserem Fall kommt eine solche Deutung nicht in Frage, da der Name der Frau nicht genannt wird und der Schreiber mit Sicherheit auch nicht in einem Untergebenen-Verhältnis zu der betreffenden Person stand. Grundsätzlich wäre auch eine Deutung des Wortes als Frauennamen Κύρα denkbar, doch spricht hiergegen der bestimmte Artikel (dieser kann zwar in den spätantiken Papyri bei Personennamen durchaus vorkommen, doch ist dies nur sehr selten der Fall und entspricht vor allem nicht der Diktion unseres Schreibers, der sonst nirgends den bestimmten Artikel vor einen Namen setzt). Wir gehen daher davon aus, daß κυρά hier im Sinne von "Frau" = "Ehefrau" aufzufassen ist. Diese Ausdrucksweise ist zwar in den Papyri, soweit wir sehen, nicht sicher zu greifen (in der Spätantike werden die Ausdrücke γαμετή oder ἐλευθέρα bevorzugt), doch entspricht sie in jedem Fall der weiteren Sprachentwicklung und wäre, wie wir meinen, durchaus bereits in der Zeit, aus der unser Brief stammt, denkbar.

Ἑλλάδιου τοῦ φιλοσόφου: Wenn wir recht sehen, ist die Person nicht anderweitig bezeugt. Unter den in der PLRE erfaßten Personen dieses Namens, die einen Bildungsberuf ausgeübt haben, findet sich kein passender Kandidat. PLRE 1 Helladius 4 und 2 Helladius 2 (möglicherweise miteinander identisch) waren keine Philosophen, sondern *grammatici* und lebten überdies im späten 4. bzw. frühen 5. Jh., also lange vor Abfassung unseres Papyrus. Zum Namen Ἑλλάδιος vgl. A. Papathomas, CPR 25.3.3 Komm.

Der Begriff φιλόσοφος bezog sich in der Zeit, aus welcher unser Papyrus stammt, auf Personen, die Philosophie im breitesten Sinn unterrichteten; hierzu sowie zu den papyrologischen Belegen für den Begriff vgl. J. O'Callaghan,

“El filósofo a la luz de los documentos griegos,” in *Philosophia. Miscelánea en homenaje al Profesor Dr. D. José Ignacio Alcorta* (Barcelona 1971) 405-408; P. Pruneti, “Il termine φιλόσοφος nei papiri documentari,” in M.S. Funghi (Hg.), *Ὅδοι διζήσιος: Le vie della ricerca. Studi in onore di Francesco Adorno* (Firenze 1996) 389-401; M. Caprara, “Ὡρατόλλων φιλόσοφος e la σχολή di Alessandria alla fine del V secolo,” in *Papiri filosofici. Miscellanea di studi 2* (Firenze 1998) 11-18.

8 τῶν ὀλίγων πραγμάτων ἡμῶν: Zur Formulierung vgl. etwa *P.Oxy.* 16.1829.20 (ca. 577-579?).

9 ὑπερέπραξαν: Das Verb ὑπερπράσσω ist ein *add. lex. pap.* Es war bislang nur aus Didymus Caecus, *Commentarii in Psalmos* (Tura-Papyrus), S. 251.24 (ed. M. Gronewald, *Didymos der Blinde, Psalmenkommentar*, Teil IV [Bonn 1969] 86) und aus der justinianischen Gesetzgebung bekannt (*CJ* 1.4.29.10 [530]; *Nov.* 17.4, 29.2 [beide 535]; vgl. *Bas.* 6.3.25, 6.13.2); s. Avotins (s. oben Komm. zu Z. 6) 162. In den Papyri kam bisher nur das Abstraktum ὑπερπράξιον vor, und zwar in *SB* 18.13865.6 (5.–6. Jh.); vgl. auch den einzigen inschriftlichen Beleg für dieses Wort *I.Mylasa* 613 = *CIG* 2.2712 = Grégoire, *Recueil* 240.7 (480).

11 Ἐνσεῦ: Gut bezeugte Ortschaft im Hermopolites, unweit der Metropole gelegen (ehemalige Toparchie Peri Polin Ano bzw. 6. Pagus); vgl. Calderini, *Diz.geogr.* 2:148 (mit *Suppl.* 1:106, und 3:35-36); M. Drew-Bear, *Le nome hermopolite. Toponymes et sites* (Missoula 1979) 97–99.

συναπαντήσω: Das Verb συναπαντάω ist, im Gegensatz zum Simplex ἀπαντάω, überaus selten. Die wenigen literarischen Belege fallen größtenteils in die Spätantike bzw. byzantinische Zeit. In den Papyri gab es bislang nur ein Zeugnis, nämlich *PSI* 6.689.A.9-10 (5. Jh.): συναπαντήσαι ἅμα ταῖ[ς] ἄλλαις ἐργάταις εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν | Τραϊανὴν διώρυχ[α]. Dort hat das Verb also die Bedeutung “zusammen wohin gehen” (s. *WB* 2:527). Im *LSJ*⁹ wird es mit “come to a place at the same time” übersetzt. An der vorliegenden Stelle ist “mit jmd. zusammenkommen” gemeint.

11-12 ἢ Νεφερώς | τὸν γεωρ[γὸ]ν ἢ Παῦλον τὸν υἱὸν Παπνουθίου: Ob diese Worte zum vorangehenden oder aber zum folgenden Satz zu ziehen sind, ist wegen der Inkonsequenzen im Kasusgebrauch und der nachträglichen Korrektur des Verbs συναπαντάω durch den Schreiber nicht leicht zu entscheiden. Im erstgenannten Fall hätte der Satz zunächst wie folgt gelaute: ἕως ἂν συναπαντήσι (*l.* -ήση) πρὸς ὑμᾶς σὺν θεῷ ἢ Νεφερώς | τὸν γεωρ[γὸ]ν (*l.* ὁ γεωργός) ἢ Παῦλον τὸν υἱὸν (*l.* Παῦλος ὁ υἱός) Παπνουθίου (“bis entweder Nephros, der Pachtbauer, oder Paulos, der Sohn des Papnuthios, so

Gott will, bei Euch eintrifft”). Durch die Korrektur hätte dieser Satz folgendes Aussehen erhalten: ἕως ἂν συναπαντήσω πρὸς ὑμᾶς σὺν θεῷ ἢ Νεφερώς | τὸν γεωργ[γὸ]ν (l. ὁ γεωργός) ἢ Παῦλον τὸν υἱὸν (l. Παῦλος ὁ υἱός) Παπγουθίου (“bis ich, so Gott will, bei Euch eintreffe, oder Nepheros, der Pachtbauer, oder Paulos, der Sohn des Papnuthios”). Nun halten wir es allerdings für wesentlich plausibler, daß Nepheros und Paulos, die offenkundig der einfachen Landbevölkerung angehörten und Pachtbauern bzw. Knechte der Familie waren, sich beim Adressaten des Briefes im Hermopolites aufhielten und nicht bei dessen Verfasser, der ja an einem ganz anderen, uns leider unbekannten Ort residierte. Wir denken daher, daß das Ganze bereits zum nächsten Satz gehört.

13 γεῶ[ρρησον] τὴν γῆν ἐκείνην: Aufgrund der vorangehenden Form ἄπελθε rekonstruieren wir auch hier den Aorist Imperativ der 2. Person statt den der 3. Person, wie es eigentlich richtig hätte lauten müssen. Ähnliche Formulierungen aus spätantiken Papyri sind beispielsweise *P.Wisc.* 1.32 = *Pap.Choix* 27.11–12 (305): καὶ τοῦ πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν ἡμῶν | γεωργ<ε>ῖν; *SB* 16.12692.52 (339 [s. *BL* 9:289]): ἐγεώργησαν τὴν γῆν; *P.Stras.* 7.674.7 (4. Jh.): καὶ οὕτω ὑμᾶς τῇ[ν] γῆν γεωργεῖν; *P.Oxy.* 8.1107.2 (5./6. Jh.): καὶ γεωργήσαντος αὐτῆς τὴν γῆν.

Εὐστοργία: Der Name ist überaus selten in den Papyri. Bekannt sind nur drei Frauen, die ihn trugen: Aurelia Eustorgia, Tochter der Philammon (Herm., 330); Aurelia Kyra alias Eustorgia, Tochter des Abraamios *clarissimus*, aus Hermupolis (*BGU* 12.2149 [470], 12.2181 [509; zur Datierung s. *BL* 7:25 und 8:53]; *P.Berl.Frisk* 5 = *SB* 5.7519 [510; zur Lesung s. *BL* 7:28]; *SB* 14.11373 = *BGU* 17.2683 [513] *BGU* 12.2186 [514?]; *BGU* 19.2808 [528]; zur Person vgl. G. Poethke, *BGU* 17.2683, Einl. S. 24); Eustorgia *clarissima* im Aphrodito-Katataster *SB* 20.14669.260 (524?; zur Datierung s. jetzt Zuckerman [s. oben Komm. zu Z. 5] 32–34). Für eine etwaige Identifizierung käme einzig die zweitgenannte in Frage.

Κλαυδίᾱ: Der Name ist nach dem Ende des 3. Jh. nur noch extrem selten anzutreffen; vgl. *P.Sorb.* 2.69.85 D.1 (Anfang 7. Jh.): Κλαυδία Μαρία und vielleicht auch *SB* 14.12030.10 (5.–6. Jh.): Κλ(αυδία) Νίνα κὲ (l. καὶ) Σουσάννα. Der zuletzt genannte Beleg scheint uns allerdings höchst suspekt, da man den Namen eben wegen seiner extremen Seltenheit in dieser späten Zeit kaum derart abgekürzt hätte; außerdem ist die Lesung, was das erste ν in Νίνα anbelangt, äußerst problematisch, wie ein Blick auf die der *editio princeps* beigegebene Tafel zeigt (*Talanta* 3, 1971, nach S. 76).

14. Ἰσίδ[ωρον: Der Schreiber hat vielleicht auch hier wie in den vorangehenden Fällen irrtümlich den Nominativ benutzt: Ἰσίδ[ωρος. Die nächste

Zeile könnte wie folgt begonnen haben: (a) [κατ' ὄνομα κτλ.; (b) [ὕμῶν κτλ. oder (c) [ἐν κυρίῳ θεῶ.

2. *P.Vindob. G 16580. Hypomnestikon eines praefectianus auf Reisen*

In diesem Schreiben legt der Absender, ein *praefectianus* namens Anastasios, dem Adressaten, dessen Name und Stellung nicht erhalten sind, die Gründe dar, warum er, vermutlich entgegen einer früheren Vereinbarung, nicht auf ihn habe warten können, um ihm in einer amtlichen Angelegenheit behilflich zu sein. Sein Schiff sei nämlich nach einer Wartezeit von vier Tagen unvermittelt nach Nikiu abgefahren. Es werde jedoch ein *subadiuva* den Adressaten in der fraglichen Angelegenheit unterstützen.

Laut Überschrift handelt es sich bei dem Text um ein ὑπομνηστικόν. Dieser Begriff ist von der Spätantike bis ins byzantinische Mittelalter nachweisbar, und zwar für höchst unterschiedliche Gattungen von Schriftstücken, so daß es schwer fällt, seine Entwicklung nachzuzeichnen. Anfangs könnte seine Verwendung als griechische Entsprechung zum lateinischen Begriff *commonitorium* im Vordergrund gestanden haben. Hierbei handelte es sich um ein Schriftstück, das die Erteilung eines Auftrags zum Ziel hatte.³ Wie allerdings sowohl die dokumentarischen als auch die literarischen Quellen zeigen, wird der Terminus recht bald auch für Schriftstücke gebraucht, die den Charakter eines *memorandum* haben, daneben aber auch als Synonym für "Brief"⁴ und schließlich sogar für "Petition."⁵ Überdies zeugen die Papyrusfunde aus Petra jetzt von einer weiteren, völlig unvermuteten Verwendungsweise des Begriffs: Hier dient er nämlich zur Bezeichnung von Steuerakten oder aber von Urkunden über private Rechtsgeschäfte.⁶

³ Vgl. O. Seeck, *RE* 4.1 (1900) 775–776 s. v. *Commonitorium*; S. Daris, *Aegyptus* 38 (1958) 65–66; D. Feissel und I. Kaygusuz, *T&MByz* 9 (1985) 407–409.

⁴ Man beachte etwa den Titel einer Schrift des Ephraem Syrus, der im 4. Jh. wirkte: Ὑπομνηστικὸν ἥτοι ἐπιστολή (ed. K.G. Phrantzoles, Ὁσίου Ἐφραίμ τοῦ Σύρου ἔργα 2 [Thessaloniki 1989] 46).

⁵ Vgl. etwa M. Nystazopoulou-Pélékidou, "Les déseis et les lyseis: Une forme de pétition à Byzance du X^e siècle au début du XIV^e," in *La pétition à Byzance* (Paris 2004) 105–124.

⁶ Vgl. *P.Petra* 1.3.4 Komm.: "agreement on property and payments;" ähnlich *P.Petra* 3.18.1 Komm. Die Belege sind im einzelnen: *P.Petra* 3.35.4 (Steuerquittung, 533–563?); 1.3.4, 4.5, 5.2 (alle drei Anträge auf Überschreibung der Steuerpflicht, 538); 3.18 *passim* (Vereinbarung betreffs Mitgift, 539); 3.29.156 (Vereinbarung betreffs einer Schuld, 582?–592).

In den Papyri aus Ägypten sind Hypomnestika vom 4. bis zum 8. Jh. nachweisbar.⁷ Die frühesten Belege (4.–5. Jh.) stellen größtenteils Aufträge dar, besonders an solche Personen, die sich an einen anderen Ort begeben und dort etwas für den Aussteller erledigen sollen. In diesen Texten folgt unmittelbar auf das Präskript ein Nebensatz, der mit einer Konjunktion wie ὥστε, ὅπως oder ἵνα eingeleitet wird (gelegentlich stehen auch mehrere solche Nebensätze asyndetisch nebeneinander). Sodann erscheinen ab dem späten 5. Jh. in den Papyri aus Ägypten Hypomnestika, die mehr oder minder Privatbriefen ähneln; in diesen Texten wird der Auftrag ins καταξιώ-Formular gekleidet (s. etwa *P.Oxy.* 60.4011.v.4 und *SB* 12.11084.4). Meistens sind ägyptischen Papyrus-Hypomnestika des 5.–8. Jh. allerdings Verzeichnisse von Waren, die der Adressat dem Verfasser besorgen sollte. In einem Fall, zugleich dem spätesten Zeugnis, dient der Begriff zur Bezeichnung eines Steuerregisters, was an den Befund der oben erwähnten Petra-Papyri erinnert (*CPR* 22.60). Unser Text, der ebenfalls Züge eines Briefes trägt und die καταξίωσον-Formel enthält, ist formal der zweitgenannten Gruppe zuzuordnen.

Der Kontext von Hypomnestika auf Papyrus ist ebenfalls vielgestaltig. Der Großteil stammt aus einem geschäftlichen oder privaten Umfeld. Daneben liegen aber auch amtliche Exemplare vor, so z. B. *P.Mich.* 18.795; dasselbe ist offenbar auch bei uns der Fall.

Anastasios' Worte in Z. 6: ἀπέλυσεν ἡ ναῦς erwecken wegen des Gebrauchs des Aorists auf den ersten Blick den Eindruck, daß er den Brief erst nach Abfahrt des Schiffes verfaßt und abgeschickt hat, und zwar spätestens nach Erreichen des Zielortes Nikiu, eventuell aber auch schon unterwegs bei einem Zwischenhalt. Wir halten es allerdings für wahrscheinlicher, daß der Brief noch vor Abfahrt des Schiffes aufgesetzt worden ist. Hierfür spricht zunächst das Wort ἐνταῦθα in Z. 11, das den Ausgangspunkt der Schiffsreise bezeichnet. Ferner ist zu berücksichtigen, daß der *subadiuva* jeden Moment eintreffen konnte und nur für kurze Zeit zur Verfügung stand (Z. 11-12: τὰς δύο | ἡμέρας). Der Adressat mußte also möglichst rasch unterrichtet werden. Hätte Anastasios das Schreiben erst während seiner Nilreise oder gar erst in Nikiu aufgesetzt und abgeschickt, wäre es wohl für den Adressaten viel zu spät eingelangt. Die Wahl der Vergangenheitsform ἀπέλυσεν dürfte somit als Projektion der Erzählperspektive auf den Empfänger zu deuten sein, eine für Papyrusbriefe übliche Erscheinung.

Ausgangspunkt der Schiffsreise war offenbar ein Nilhafen, der in nicht allzu großer Entfernung von Neilopolis lag, von wo Anastasios (oder andere Leute auf dem Schiff?) die Ankunft eines *singularis* erwartet hatte(n). Der

⁷ Für die Belege s. unten Komm. zu Z. 1.

Adressat des Schriftstückes scheint zwar nicht direkt in diesem Nilhafen residiert zu haben – ansonsten wäre die vereinbarte Zusammenkunft wohl mühelos zustandegekommen –, aber doch zumindest in dessen näherer Umgebung – ansonsten hätte man kaum diesen Platz als Treffpunkt ausgewählt. Berücksichtigt man ferner den Umstand, daß der Papyrus zu den Erwerbungen des Jahres 1883 gehört, die aus den Ruinenfeldern der Metropolen des Arsinoites und Herakleopolites stammen, möchten wir die Vermutung wagen, daß der Aufenthaltsort des Adressaten mit Herakleopolis zu identifizieren ist. Allerdings bleibt in diesem Punkt eine große Ungewißheit bestehen.

Anastasios gehörte, wie sein Titel zeigt, zum *officium* des *praefectus Augustalis*, der als Diözesanvikar der ägyptischen Provinzen fungierte. Sein eigentlicher Amtssitz war also Alexandria. Freilich wurden die *praefectiani*, gleich anderen *officiales* der Diözesan- und Provinzverwaltung, vielfach in die *civitates* ihres Rayons ausgesandt, teils für kurze Zeit, um konkrete Aufträge zu erledigen, teils aber auch für längere Perioden, um Verwaltungsfunktionen zu übernehmen.

Warum Anastasios sich in Mittelägypten aufhielt (Provinz Arcadia) und warum er von hier nach Nikiu (Provinz Aegyptus [prima]) reiste, ist dem Schreiben nicht zu entnehmen. Die nächstliegende Vermutung ist sicherlich, daß er eine Dienstreise durch mehrere Provinzen der Diözese unternahm. Der Begriff σκεύη in Z. 4 wäre dann im Sinne von "Reisegepäck" zu verstehen. Denkbar scheint aber auch, daß er nach längerer Wirkungszeit an einem uns unbekannten Ort, der möglicherweise mit Neilopolis oder einer anderen Stadt in dieser Gegend zu identifizieren ist, nunmehr im Begriff stand, seinen Einsatzort zu wechseln; in diesem Fall wäre der Begriff σκεύη wohl eher mit "Hausrat" wiederzugeben.

Anastasios hatte, wie es scheint, dem Adressaten versprochen, diesem in einer Sache behilflich zu sein, die er mit dem Wort *πράξις* bezeichnet. Da er ihm nicht selbst behilflich sein könne, solle der Adressat diese *πράξις* nun mit Unterstützung (*προβήναι*) eines *subadiuva* anfertigen lassen (*ποιῆσαι*), entgegennehmen (*λαβεῖν*) und durch denselben *subadiuva* zu ihm schicken, und zwar entweder nach Nikiu – wo er sich offenbar für die nächste Zeit aufzuhalten beabsichtigte – oder aber nach Alexandria, also an seinen eigentlichen Amtssitz. Anastasios' Nachsatz, er wolle dem *assessor* Praesentinus schreiben, ist vermutlich auf die zweitgenannte Möglichkeit zu beziehen. Praesentinus gehörte höchstwahrscheinlich zum Beraterkreis des *praefectus Augustalis* und dürfte sich demnach in Alexandria aufgehalten haben (s. unten). Möglicherweise war er eine Art von Vertrauensperson des Anastasios an dessen eigentlicher Dienststätte, und Anastasios wollte diese Person über die mögliche

Ankunft der $\pi\rho\alpha\tilde{\alpha}\xi\iota\varsigma$ unterrichten und vielleicht auch um ihre Weiterleitung bitten.

Der Begriff $\pi\rho\alpha\tilde{\alpha}\xi\iota\varsigma$, in früheren Jahrhunderten noch vornehmlich für “Handlung” oder “Vollstreckung” verwendet, entwickelt in der Amtssprache des 6. Jh. eine weitere, neuartige Bedeutung, die unter anderem auch in den Papyri begegnet. Das Wort meint jetzt amtliche Schriftstücke. In der bisherigen Forschung wird es, sofern in dieser Weise gebraucht, mit “Akten” (*acta*) wiedergegeben.⁸ Diese Übersetzung scheint den Sinn zu treffen, den der Begriff im 6. Jh. haben konnte, verdeckt allerdings, wie uns scheint, seine zweite und ursprüngliche Bedeutung. Wir vermuten nämlich, daß es sich eigentlich um eine verkürzte Ausdrucksweise für $\pi\rho\alpha\tilde{\alpha}\xi\iota\varsigma$ $\acute{\upsilon}\pi\omicron\mu\eta\eta\mu\acute{\alpha}\tau\omega\upsilon\eta$ handelt, die wiederum, wie wir weiterhin annehmen, eine Übersetzung des lateinischen Ausdrucks *confectio actorum* bzw. *gestorum* darstellt.⁹ Zunächst dürfte somit die Erstellung amtlicher Akten gemeint gewesen sein. Von einem bestimmten Zeitpunkt an, spätestens seit justinianischer Zeit, läßt sich dann die übertragene Verwendung nachweisen: $\pi\rho\alpha\tilde{\alpha}\xi\iota\varsigma$ $\acute{\upsilon}\pi\omicron\mu\eta\eta\mu\acute{\alpha}\tau\omega\upsilon\eta$ oder einfach $\pi\rho\alpha\tilde{\alpha}\xi\iota\varsigma$ kann jetzt auch für die amtlichen Dokumente selbst stehen.¹⁰ Welche der beiden Verwendungsweisen in unserem Fall vorliegt, ist nicht sicher zu sagen. Allerdings scheinen die Ausdrucksweise $\tau\eta\eta\eta$ $\pi\rho\alpha\tilde{\alpha}\xi\iota\varsigma$ $\pi\omicron\iota\eta\varsigma\alpha\iota$ in Z. 8 sowie die Tatsache, daß der Adressat unseres Textes in dieser Sache einer Unterstützung bedurfte, darauf hinzuweisen, daß die betreffenden Schriftstücke erst noch aufgesetzt werden mußten. Wir nehmen daher in der Übersetzung die ursprüngliche Bedeutung “Ausfertigung von Akten” an. Was der Inhalt dieser Akten war, muß offen bleiben.

Die Angaben zum Adressaten sind weitgehend verloren, so daß seine genaue amtliche Stellung und soziale Position unbekannt bleiben. Da er Anastasios um seine Unterstützung gebeten hatte, bestand zwischen den beiden wohl kein direktes Dienstverhältnis. Der Adressat scheint auch nicht dem Milieu von *officiales* angehört zu haben, in welchem Anastasios sich bewegte. Nichtsdestotrotz ist der Tonfall des Schreibens ausgesprochen zuvorkommend; man beachte etwa Anastasios’ geradezu pathetische Entschuldigung dafür, daß er

⁸ Vgl. I. Avotins, *On the Greek of the Novels of Justinian* (Hildesheim 1992) 176 und D. Hagedorn, *ZPE* 151 (2005) 131, Anm. 18 (zu *P.Wash.* 1.8).

⁹ Vgl. etwa *CTh* 8.12.8.1: *Gestorum quoque confectionem sive ante traditionem sive post traditionem fieri oportebit, ut instrumentum, quo continetur munificentia, apud acta publicetur, etc.*

¹⁰ Zum Gebrauch für ein Schriftstück vgl. etwa das Prozeßprotokoll *P.Cair.Masp.* 3.67329.II.12 = *ChLA* 41.1194.34 (524/5; zur Datierung vgl. *BL* 4:15): $\pi\alpha\rho\alpha\kappa\alpha\lambda\omega$ $\tau\eta\eta$ $\pi\rho\alpha\tilde{\alpha}\xi\iota\varsigma$ $\tau\omega\eta\eta$ $\acute{\upsilon}\pi\omicron\mu\eta\eta\mu\acute{\alpha}$ $[\tau\omega\eta\eta$ $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa]$ $\delta\omicron\theta\eta\eta\upsilon\alpha\iota$ $\mu\omicron\iota$ $\pi\rho\delta$ $\acute{\alpha}\sigma\phi\acute{\alpha}\lambda\epsilon\iota\alpha\upsilon$. In weiterer Folge wird der Ausdruck dann mit $\tau\acute{\alpha}$ $\pi\epsilon\pi\rho\alpha\gamma\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\alpha$ gleichgesetzt.

den Adressaten ganz ohne eigenes Verschulden im Stich gelassen habe, sowie ferner die Einleitung des Petitums mit den Worten καταξίωσον οὖν, δέσποτα, die hier nicht Ausdruck einer inferioren Stellung des Schreibers sind, sondern eine Höflichkeitsfloskel. Dies alles läßt ahnen, daß Anastasios den Adressaten als Person gleichen sozialen Ranges betrachtete; möglicherweise war er ihm auch persönlich verbunden. Die wahrscheinlichste Lösung scheint uns, daß es sich beim Adressaten um ein Mitglied der Oberschicht einer *civitas* (Herakleopolis?) handelte. Für eine solche Annahme spricht auch die Ehrenanrede ἡ σὴ μεγαλοπρέπεια, die vermuten läßt, daß der Betreffende eine Honorar-Comitiva innehatte. Solche Ehrenämter waren im 6. Jh. unter städtischen Honorationen weit verbreitet. Aus dem Umstand schließlich, daß die Dokumente, von denen im Text die Rede ist, für die Zentralverwaltung der Diözese bestimmt waren, wird man schließen dürfen, daß der Adressat ein Amt bekleidete, das gegenüber diesen Behörden rechenschaftspflichtig war.

Das Schriftbild weist auf eine Abfassung des Schreibens im 6. Jh. Für einen solchen Zeitansatz sprechen auch die Erwähnung der *πρᾶξις* sowie der Name Anastasios, der erst populär wurde, seit ein Kaiser ihn getragen hatte (Anastasios [491–518]).¹¹ Ein weiteres Indiz für die Datierung könnte der lateinische Lehnname Πραισεντίνοϋ liefern. Dieser Name ist neu in den Papyri und auch sonst recht selten. In der *PLRE* 3B finden wir drei Namensträger, hierunter an erster Stelle einen Rechtsgelehrten, der unter den zehn Mitgliedern der Kommission erscheint, die Justinian in seiner Konstitution *Haec* vom 13. Februar 528 mit der Erstellung eines Gesetzeskodex betraute (erste Fassung des Codex Iustinianus). Dieser Praesentinus wirkte, wie seine Bezeichnung als *disertissimus togatus fori amplissimi praetoriani* zeigt, zum damaligen Zeitpunkt als Anwalt am Gerichtshof des *praefectus praetorio per Orientem*. In Anbetracht der Seltenheit des Namens sowie der Tatsache, daß wir es in beiden Fällen mit Juristen zu tun haben, die für die allerhöchsten staatlichen Gerichtshöfe tätig waren, halten wir es für denkbar, daß es sich um ein und dieselbe Person handelt. Falls diese Identifizierung zutreffen sollte, so hätten wir ein Indiz, daß unser Text vor dem Jahre 528 abgefaßt wurde, da anzunehmen ist, daß Praesentinus zunächst beim *praefectus Augustalis*, der im Vikarsrang stand, tätig gewesen wäre, ehe sein nächster Karriereschritt ihn nach Konstantinopel an den Gerichtshof des Prätoriumspräfekten, des direkten Vorgesetzten des *praefectus Augustalis*, geführt hätte.

Anastasios hat das Hypomnestikon allem Anschein nach eigenhändig verfaßt. Die Schrift zeigt alle Merkmale des Schreibstils der staatlichen Kanzleien. Für den Haupttext verwendet Anastasios die in diesen Büros übliche

¹¹ Hierzu vgl. *CPR* 25.29.2 Komm.

Geschäftskursive. Bei der Anrede des Adressaten läßt er, zumindest teilweise, den sogenannten “Kanzleistil” einfließen, der beispielweise in amtlichen Gerichtsprotokollen zur Wiedergabe der Äußerungen des Richters diene. Dieser feierliche Schrifttyp begegnet bekanntlich auch im privaten Milieu, und zwar vor allem in den Adreß- bzw. Absender-Aufschriften auf der Außenseite von Privatbriefen. Die Wahl dieser Schrift ist vielleicht als eine weitere höfliche Geste gegenüber dem Adressaten zu interpretieren.

Herakleopolites (?)

24.5 x 30 cm

6. Jh.

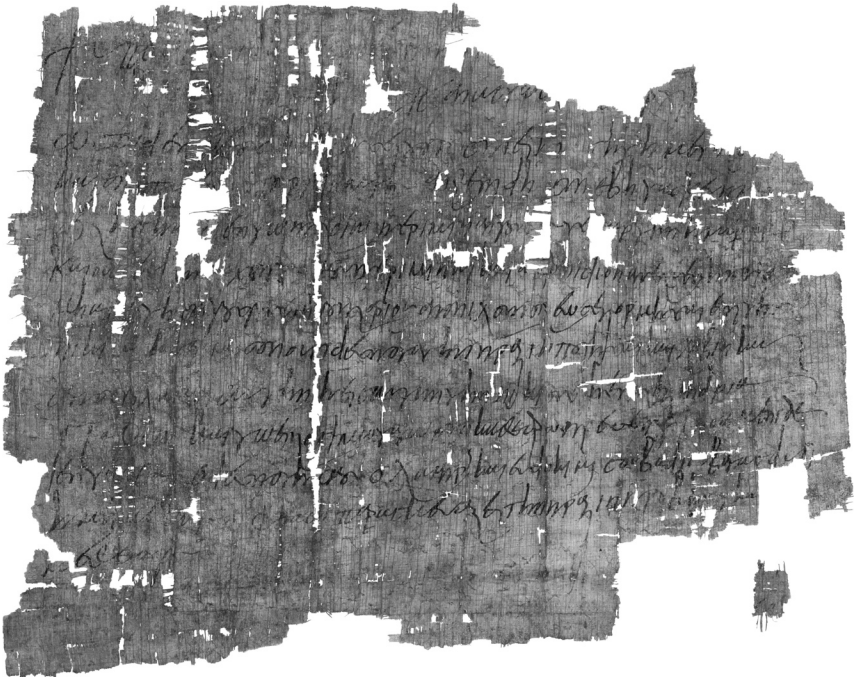
Abgesehen von geringen Verlusten in der rechten oberen und in der rechten unteren Ecke sowie leichten Beschädigungen an den übrigen Rändern ist das Papyrusblatt vollständig erhalten. Das Schreiben ist im *transversa charta*-Format verfaßt und erstreckt sich über die gesamte Breite der Rolle. Links 1.5 cm, unten 4 cm Freirand. Knapp oberhalb des unteren Randes verläuft waagerecht eine Klebung. Schrift auf dem Rekto quer zum Faserlauf. Flüssige und geübte Geschäftskursive. In der Adresse (Z. 1 und Beginn von Z. 2) zumindest teilweise “Kanzleischrift” (s. oben Einl.); die Tinte ist in diesem Bereich allerdings größtenteils bis zur Unleserlichkeit verblaßt. Am Zeilenübergang gibt es keine Trennungen innerhalb des Wortes; am Zeilenende wird der letzte Buchstabe meistens als Zeilenfüller weit nach rechts gezogen. Z. 2 ist um 2 cm eingerückt. Das Verso ist leer.

- ↓ 1 † Ὑπομνηστικὸν π[ρ]ὸς τὸν δεσπότην μ[ου] . . . [- - -]
 Spatium ± 15 π(αρά) Ἀναστασίου ἐ[π]αρχικ[οῦ].
 ὡς οἶδεν [ὁ] θεός, δι' ἐ[ὐ]χῆς εἶχον συνεῖναι τῇ σῇ μεγαλο-
 [π]ρ[(επειά)]
- 4 καὶ ἐγγεῦ[θ]εν συμπράττειν αὐτῇ, ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ συνέβη τὰ σκευὴ μου
 βληθῆναι ἐν τῷ πλοίῳ περιμείναντός μου τετάρτην ἡμέραν
 καὶ οὐκέτι ὑπάρχοντός μου περιμῖναι καὶ αἰφνίδιον ἀπέλυσεν ἡ ναῦς
 μὴ ἀπαγγέψαντος τοῦ σινγουλαρίου ἀπὸ Νίλου πόλεως ἐξορμήσαι
 ἐπὶ τὴν
- 8 Νικίου. καταξίωσον οὖν, δέσποτα, τὴν πράξιν ποιῆσαι καὶ λαβῖν καὶ
 ἀποστέλλαι μοι αὐτὴν ἢ εἰς αὐτὴν τὴν Νικίους ἢ ἐν Ἀλεξανδρίᾳ.
 γράφω καὶ τῷ ἔλλογιμωτάτῳ συνκαθέδρῳ Πρεσεντίνῳ. μένι δέ
 ἐνταῦθα ὁ δεσπότης μου, ὁ λαμπρ(ότατος) καὶ εὐδοκ(ί)μ(ώτατος)
 σουβαδιούβα, τὰς δύο
- 12 ἡμέρας καί, ὅταν φθάσῃ, παρασκευάζει τὴν πράξιν προβῆναι κα[± 5]
 μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ.

4 συμπράττειν; ἀλλ' *par.*; ἐπειδὴ 5 περιμείναντος 6 περιμῖναι
 7 σινγουλαρίου; σιν' γουλαρίου *par.*; Νείλου 8 λαβῖν 9 ἀποστελλὰ μοι;

Νικίου; Ἀλεξανδρεῖα 10 συγκαθόδρω Πραισεντίνω; πρεσεντινω: ω ex ου
 παρ.; μένει (vel μενεῖ?)

“† Hypomnestikon an meinen Herrn N. N. ... von Anastasios, *praefecti-
 anus*. Wie Gott weiß, war es mein inniger Wunsch, mit Deiner Magnifizenz
 zusammenzusein und sie hier am Ort zu unterstützen. Aber (ich konnte nicht),
 weil es sich ergab, daß meine Sachen ins Schiff verladen wurden, während ich
 den vierten Tag abwartete, und ich keine Möglichkeit mehr hatte zu warten,
 da das Schiff plötzlich ablegte, um nach Nikiu aufzubrechen, ohne daß der *sin-
 gularis* aus Neilopolis eingetroffen wäre. Sei nun bitte so gut, Herr, die Ausfer-
 tigung der Akten zu veranlassen, und nimm sie entgegen und schicke sie mir,
 und zwar entweder ins selbige Nikiu oder aber nach Alexandria! Ich schreibe
 auch dem *eloquentissimus assessor Praesentinus*. Mein Herr, der erlauchte und
 hochangesehene *subadiuva*, verweilt für die zwei Tage hier, und sobald er ein-
 trifft, sorgt er dafür, daß die Ausfertigung (der Akten) gut voranschreitet, und
 (nimmt sie?) mit sich.”



Zeilenkommentar

1 Ὑπομνηστικὸν: Schriftstücke auf Papyrus, die explizit als Hypomnestika bezeichnet werden – sei es in der Überschrift, sei es im Dorsalvermerk – sind in zeitlicher Reihenfolge: *P.Abinn.* 42 (*ducenarius* an *contubernalis*, ca. 342–351); *P.Ant.* 2.92 (an den δεσπότης καὶ ἀδελφός, 4.–5. Jh.); *SB* 20.15191 (5. Jh.); *SB* 12.11084 (an den κύριος ἐνάρετος ἀδελφός, 2. Hälfte 5. Jh.); *PUG* 1.29 = *SB* 8, 9806 (an den κύριος, Mitte 5./Anfang 6. Jh.); *P.Mich.* 14.684 mit *BL* 8:218 (5.–6. Jh.); *P.Mich.* 18.795 (*scrinium canonicum* an die Behörden von Pelusion, 5.–6. Jh.); *P.Flor.* 3.359 (ohne Adresse, 6. Jh.); *P.Fouad* 74 (νομικός an seinen “Bruder” μυροπώλης, 6. Jh.? [vgl. *BL* 3:61 und 11:82]); *P.Mich.* 15.736 (an den δεσπότης, 6. Jh.); *P.Mil.* 2.87 = *SB* 6.9511 (an den κύριος ἀδελφός, 6. Jh.); *P.Oxy.* 10.1343 (Adressat unbekannt, 6. Jh.); *P.Oxy.* 60.4011 Verso (βοηθός an διάκονος, 6. Jh.); *P.Oxy.* 16.2059 (7. Jh.); *P.Iand.* 4.67 (ohne Adresse, 7.–8. Jh.); *CPR* 22.60.r.2.Fr. B (7.–8. Jh.). Alle diese Zeugnisse stammen aus Ägypten; für die neuen Belege aus Petra s. oben Anm. 6. Zur Bedeutung des Begriffs ὑπομνηστικόν s. oben Einl.

2 Die erste Zeilenhälfte ist fast völlig verblaßt. In diesem Bereich ist der Name des Adressaten zu erwarten. Vom ersten Buchstaben, der sich unterhalb des ersten ο aus ὑπομνηστικὸν befindet, ist nur eine Schlaufe erhalten, die weit oberhalb der Schreiblinie steht. Es handelt sich vielleicht um ein φ, das zum (abgekürzten) Gentiliz Φλ(άουιος) gehört haben könnte.

3 δι’ ἐὺ|χῆς εἶχον: Die Wendung δι’ εὐχῆς ἔχω geht ebenso wie die verwandte Ausdrucksweise δι’ εὐχῆς ἐστί τιμι auf die pagane Zeit zurück. Die letztgenannte Formel begegnet in den Papyri mehrfach, und zwar vom späten 1. bis ins 3. Jh.: *BGU* 2.531.5–6 mit *BL* 7:13 (75–76): τοῦτο γάρ μοι [ἐστί] δι’ | εὐχῆς; *P.Brem.* 20.6–7 (Anf. 2. Jh.): τοῦτο γάρ μοι δι’ εὐχῆς ἐστί (Übersetzung ebd. S. 58: “denn darum bete ich”); *P.Brem.* 65.6 (Anf. 2. Jh.): ὡς [δι’ εὐ] χῆς ἤμ[ι]ν ἐστί; *P.Mich.* 8.465.8–9 (108; zur Datierung vgl. *BL* 8:214): μάλιστα δὲ | [ἐστί μοι δι’ ε]ὐχῆς; *P.Mil. Vogl.* 1.24.4 (117): ὅπερ ἐμοὶ δι’ εὐχῆς ἐστί; *P.Mich.* 8.494.5–7 (2. Jh.): οὐ|τως δι’ εὐχῆς ἐστί μοι τὸ [σ]ὲ ἀσπ[α]σθαι (Übersetzung ebd. S. 105: “So strong is my wish to salute you”); *P.Rein.* 2.113.5–7 (ca. 263): δι’ εὐχῆς μοι ἐστί, | δέσποτα, παρὰ τοὺς πόδας [σο]ν | ὑπηρετεῖν (Übersetzung ebd. S. 81: “Mon vœu, maître, est d’accomplir mon service à tes pieds”); *SB* 5.8002.3–4 (3. Jh.): [πρὸ παν]τός [ἐ]στ[ι]ν μοι δι’ εὐχῆς τὸ | [ὕγιαινειν] σε.

Hingegen ist die Formel unseres Briefes in den Papyri höchst selten. Den einzigen Nachweis liefert unseres Wissens *P.Phil.* 10.5–7 (139): δι’ εὐχῆς εἶχομεν οἱ ὄντες ἀπὸ τῆς | ἐ[ργασ]ίας ἄνδρες εἰς ὀλίγο[ν]ς κατην[η]κότες ἀπ[α]ρτίσαι τὸ κεκελευσμένον. Wesentlich häufiger findet sie sich dann in der spätantiken

und byzantinischen Literatur. Sehr enge Parallelen zu unserer Stelle liefern z. B. Synes., *Ep.* 159, 9: δι' εὐχῆς εἶχον πρὸς τοιοῦτόν τινα διαβῆναι und Leo Syncellus, *Ep.* 52, 4: εἶδον τὸν προσηνῆ καὶ ἡμέρον χαρακτῆρα τῆς θεσπεσίας σου ὄψεως, σεβασμιώτατε δέσποτα· εἶδον ὅσα δι' εὐχῆς εἶχον.

Der Herausgeber des soeben angeführten *P.Phil.* 10 übersetzt den zitierten Passus wie folgt: "Notre groupe d'artisans, réduit comme il est à un nombre infime, considérait comme un simple vœu de pouvoir exécuter les ordres reçus." Wir denken dagegen, daß der Ausdruck δι' εὐχῆς ἔχω sowohl dort als auch bei uns, gleich seinem Pendant δι' εὐχῆς ἐστὶ τινι, mit "innig wünschen" wiederzugeben ist. Daß dieser Wunsch nach dem wörtlichen Sinn der Wendung in Form eines Gebets geäußert wurde, dürfte nämlich längst nur noch als steigende Metapher empfunden worden sein.

4 αὐτῇ, ἀλλ': Zwischen den beiden Wörtern ca. 1 cm Spatium.

ἀλλ' ἐπιδῆ: Im folgenden fehlt der eigentliche Hauptsatz. Dieses Phänomen ist in den Papyri auch anderswo zu beobachten, so etwa in *P.Flor.* 1.6.7–9 (zur Deutung des Textes vgl. *BL* 11:79): ἐβουλόμην μὲν οὖν, εἰ οἶόν τε ἦν, εὐθέως ἐξορμῆσαι καὶ μετασχεῖν τῆς σῆς δικαιοδοσίας, ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ ἡ τῶν δημοσίων μετρημάτων ἀνάγκη τοῦ πυροῦ με κατέλχει ἐν τῷ νομῷ. Man beachte außerdem *SB* 16.12869.12–13, wo ebenfalls eine elliptische Konstruktion nach der Konjunktion ἀλλά auftritt, mit den Bemerkungen der Herausgeber B. Bouvier und C. Wehrli, *CÉ* 59 (1984) 155.

5 βληθῆναι: Das β hat hier die in F. Mitthof und A. Papathomas, "Ein Papyruszeugnis aus dem spätantiken Karien," *Chiron* 34 (2004) 404, beschriebene Gestalt. An den übrigen Stellen benutzt der Schreiber hingegen die konventionelle Form.

6 καὶ αἰφνίδιον: Sicher so und nicht κατ' αἰφνίδιον (was im übrigen weder papyrologisch noch literarisch nachgewiesen wäre). Aus den Papyri kannte man bislang nur das Adverb αἰφνιδίως. Die Konjunktion führt an dieser Stellung die Erklärung ein, warum Anastasios nicht mehr warten konnte (explikatives καί; vgl. H. Ljungvik, *Beiträge zur Syntax der spätgriechischen Volkssprache* [Uppsala 1932] 57–58).

ναῦς: Anders als πλοῖον (s. Z. 5) ist dieses bildungssprachliche Wort für "Schiff" in den Papyri überaus selten und begegnet nach dem Ende des 3. Jh. v. Chr. nur noch äußerst sporadisch.

7 σινγουλαρίου: Zum *singularius*, der zu den subalternen Chargen der staatlichen *officia* zählte und unter anderem Botendienste versah, vgl. B. Palme, "Die *officia* der Statthalter in der Spätantike: Forschungsstand und Perspektiven," *Antiquité Tardive* 7 (1999) 105.

8 Νυκίου: Sicher so und nicht Νυκίους wie in Z. 9. Gemeint ist zweifellos die gleichnamige Metropole des Prosopites, am Ostufer des kanobischen Mündungsarmes des Nils etwa auf halber Strecke zwischen Naukratis und Memphis gelegen; vgl. H. Kees, *RE* 17.1 (1936) 342–344. Die Stadt war ein bedeutender Handelsplatz. In der Spätantike gehörte sie zur Provinz *Aegyptus* bzw., seit den justinianischen Reformen, zur *Aegyptus prima*. Für die Papyrusbelege s. Calderini, *Diz.geogr.* 3:358–359 s. v. 1 (mit *Suppl.* 2:135). Zur Variante Νυκίους (Z. 9) vgl. *SB* 6.9563 Kol. 2.8 und *SB* 10.10533.2; die Form ist auch aus der literarischen Überlieferung bekannt.

9 ἐν Ἀλεξανδρίᾳ: Paläographisch wäre auch die Transkription ἐπ' Ἀλεξανδρίᾳ möglich. Da der Übergang zwischen dem fraglichen Buchstaben und dem folgenden α nicht erhalten ist, läßt sich keine sichere Entscheidung fällen. Waren die beiden Buchstaben unverbunden, so handelte es sich um ein ν, waren sie hingegen verbunden, um ein π. Allerdings ist die Wendung ἐπ' Ἀλεξανδρίᾳ in den Papyri nicht üblich. Hingegen tritt die Verbindung ἐν + Dat. in frühbyzantinischer Zeit häufig an die Stelle von εἰς + Akk. Unser Schreiber verwendet interessanterweise beide Konstruktionen unterschiedslos Seite an Seite.

10 ἐλλογιμώτατος (*eloquentissimus*) ist das Rangprädikat von Personen, die vor Gericht als Redner wirkten, vor allem Anwälte und Rechtsgelehrte, die sich unter anderem durch ihre rhetorische Schulung auszeichneten; vgl. A. Claus, *Ὁ σχολαστικός* (Köln 1965) 84–85.

συγκάθεδρος ist eine der griechischen Wiedergaben des lateinischen Begriffs *assessor*; vgl. H.J. Mason, *Greek Terms for Roman Institutions: A Lexicon and Analysis* (Toronto 1974) 88. Gemeint ist also der persönliche Rechtsberater eines Statthalters. Solche Berater kamen in der Regel mit dem Statthalter in die Provinz und hielten sich nur für die Dauer seiner Amtszeit dort auf. Der Begriff ist selten in den Papyri; vgl. *P.Oxy.* 50.3570.3; *SB* 1.2253.13, 18.13116.5; *O.Ashm.Shelt.* 80.2–3. Im vorliegenden Fall dürfte ein *assessor* des *praefectus Augustalis* gemeint sein (s. oben Einl.).

μὲνι: Da der Schreiber im zweiten Teil des Satzes das Präsens verwendet (παρασκευάζει), dürfte auch an der vorliegenden Stelle Präsens gemeint sein. Es könnte aber auch Futur (μενεῖ) vorliegen.

11 ἐνταῦθα: Vor dem Wort findet sich ein langer, leicht geneigter Strich, der möglicherweise als Unterlänge des ersten Buchstabens der vorangehenden Zeile, eines γ, zu deuten ist.

Der σουβαδιούβα(ς) (*subadiuva*) ist in den Papyri nur selten bezeugt; vgl. *CPR* 14.39.10; *P.Bodl.* 1.26.3; *P.Oxy.* 7.1042.14 mit *BL* 9:183; *PSI* 8.953.10

sowie ferner auch *PSorb.* 2.69.122.B.1. Der *CPR*-Text gibt nähere Auskunft über seine Rangstellung, etwa im Hinblick auf sein Verhältnis zum niedriger eingestuften *singularius*. Zum Schema eines statthafterlichen *officium* mit Nennung des *subadiuva* vgl. Palme (s. oben Komm. zu Z. 7)104.

12-13 In der Lücke ist höchstwahrscheinlich die Konjunktion καὶ und nach dieser eine Form des Verbs φέρω in der dritten Person Singular zu ergänzen, und zwar φέρει oder οἴσει. Zur vorliegenden Konstruktion vgl. z. B. (a) φέρε/φέρων/ἐνεγκὼν μετὰ σεαυτοῦ: *P.Tebt.* 2.418.9-10 (3. Jh.); *P.Fouad* 85.7 (6./7. Jh.); *P.Lond.* 4.1338.18-19 (709); *P.Lond.* 4.1339.3 (709); (b): ἐνέγκη μετ' αὐτοῦ: *P.Yale* 1.78.6 (2. Jh.); (c) ἐνέγκη μεθ' ἐαυτῆς: *P.Oxy.* 16.1844.3 (6./7. Jh.).

Flavius Flavianus – von Herakleopolis nach Konstantinopel?¹

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Abstract

Flavius Flavianus, ein herakleopolitanischer Großgrundbesitzer um die Mitte des 5. Jh. n. Chr., war bislang aus etlichen Schreibübungen und Urkundenfragmenten bekannt, die ihm verschiedene Titel hochrangiger Reichsämter beigeben. Im folgenden Artikel werden drei bislang unpublizierte Papyrustexte zu Flavianus ediert, welche die bekannten Angaben zu seiner Person teils bestätigen, teils um neue Elemente bereichern. Ausgehend von Beobachtungen von N. Gonis und G. Azzarello zur Person des Flavianus und seiner Anbindung an die Apionen-Dynastie werden ferner die Testimonien zu Flavianus, seinem gleichnamigen Sohn und seinem Bruder Flavius Ptolemaeus kritisch zusammengetragen. Aus den Amtsbezeichnungen des Flavianus – deren Authentizität freilich fraglich bleibt – läßt sich eine (hypothetische) Karriere rekonstruieren, die den Aufstieg eines lokalen Notablen zunächst in Statthalterschaften und schließlich in höchste Ämter des Oströmischen Reiches illustriert.

Eine Gruppe von Papyrusurkunden des 5. Jh. n. Chr. aus dem Herakleopolites überliefert den Namen Flavius Flavianus, dem verschiedene hochrangige Amtstitel und senatorische Rangprädikate beigegeben werden:² *ex praeside, consularis, ex praetore, comes sacri consistorii, vir clarissimus, vir magnificentis-*

¹ Für die Anfertigung von Scans und die Erlaubnis, die Texte edieren zu dürfen, möchte ich Cornelia Römer, der Direktorin der Papyrussammlung der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek, herzlich danken. Giuseppina Azzarello gewährte mir freundlich Einsicht in ihr noch unpubliziertes Manuskript. Ihr und Fritz Mitthof danke ich für nützliche Hinweise.

² Zu Fl. Flavianus s. *CPR* 24.8, Einl. S. 56-58 mit Anm. 8. Über andere hochrangige Namensvettern und die Schwierigkeiten allfälliger Identifizierungen s. ebenda, Anm. 4-7 mit Verweisen.

simus, comes primi ordinis und andere mehr. Die Anhäufung dieser zum Teil seltenen Titel stellt das besondere Interesse, aber auch die Problematik dieser Textgruppe dar. Die meisten dieser Papyri sind nämlich keine gültigen Dokumente, sondern Übungen in einer auffällig durchstilisierten Kanzleischrift, die als "herakleopolitanischer Schreibstil" Eingang in die papyrologische Diskussion gefunden hat.³ Wegen der ungewöhnlichen Amtstitel einerseits und des Übungscharakters der Schriftstücke andererseits ging man zunächst davon aus, daß Fl. Flavianus keine historische Persönlichkeit war, sondern ein zu Übungszwecken erfundener Phantasienamen sei.⁴ Erst die Entdeckung neuer Texte, die keine Schreibübungen, sondern Urkunden sind (*P.Bingen* 135, *CPR* 24.8 und andere, s.u.), haben die Zweifel beseitigt, daß ein herakleopolitanischer Notabler und Grundbesitzer namens Fl. Flavianus tatsächlich gelebt hat – was freilich nicht automatisch heißt, daß er auch alle Ämter, die in den Schreibübungen genannt sind, tatsächlich bekleidet haben muß. In einigen Texten tritt auch ein Bruder des Flavianus auf, ein gleichfalls mit hohen Titeln bedachter *vir clarissimus* namens Flavius Ptolemaeus, der sozusagen einen zweiten prosopographischen Angelpunkt in diesem Dossier darstellt.

Bis vor kurzem war man davon ausgegangen, daß jede Nennung eines Flavianus in dem Textkonvolut auf ein und dieselbe Person zu beziehen sei. Kürzlich jedoch hat Nikolaos Gonis, ausgehend von *P.Bingen* 135, überzeugend dafür argumentiert, daß der in dieser Sammelquittung über Pachtzinszahlungen gemeinsam mit einem Ἀπίων περίβλεπτος auftretende Φλαουιανὸς λαμπρότατος nicht mit dem Flavianus der Übungstexte identisch sein könne.⁵ Da ein gewisser Ἰωάννης παραλήπτης im Namen beider Herren agiert, müssen beide Land im gemeinsamen Besitz gehabt haben, was am einfachsten durch die Annahme zu erklären ist, daß sie Brüder waren. In Apion *vir spectabilis* wiederum sei niemand anderer zu erblicken als Apion I., einziger bekannter Großgrundbesitzer dieses Namens im Herakleopolites und Angehöriger der Apionen-Dynastie.⁶ Da Apion in *P.Bingen* 135 noch *vir spectabilis* ist

³ H. Harrauer und B. Rom, "Drei byzantinische Papyri," *ZPE* 54 (1984) 95-96, mit einer detaillierten Beschreibung der Charakteristika dieser Schrift und einer Aufzählung zahlreicher Beispiele.

⁴ H. Harrauer und P.J. Sijpesteijn, *P.Rain.Unterricht* 96, Einl. S. 83.

⁵ N. Gonis, "P.Bingen 135 and Flavius Apion I," *ZPE* 146 (2004) 175-178.

⁶ Diese Identifizierung hatte schon J. Gascou, "Les grands domaines, la cité et l'état en l'Égypte byzantine," *T&MByz* 9 (1985) 61, Anm. 343, bezüglich *SPP* 8.722 (einem Teilfragment von *P.Bingen* 135) vermutet. Zu Apion I. und seiner wechselhaften Karriere vgl. Gascou, S. 61-63; R. Mazza, *L'archivio degli Apioni. Terra, lavoro e proprietà senatoria nell'Egitto tardoantico* (Bari 2001) 53-57, und G. Azzarello, "Vecchi e nuovi personaggi della famiglia degli Apioni nei documenti papiracei," in *Proceedings of the*

und somit der zweiten senatorischen Rangklasse angehört, in *P.Flor.* 3.325.2-3 vom 20. Mai 489 aber das höhere Rangprädikat ὑπερφανεστάτος (*vir illustris*) führt, das die dritte und höchste senatorische Rangklasse kennzeichnet, muß *P.Bingen* 135 früher entstanden sein, sehr wahrscheinlich 483 (6. Indiktion). Wegen des späten Zeitansatzes und weil Apion – nicht Ptolemaeus – gemeinsam mit Flavianus aufscheint, könne dieser Flavianus nicht identisch sein mit jenem aus den älteren Schreibübungen, die man nach verschiedenen Indizien (s. dazu im folgenden) in die 20er und 30er Jahre des 5. Jh. datierte. Vielmehr handle es sich um den gleichnamigen Sohn des Flavianus aus den Übungstexten. Daraus folgt, daß auch Apion I. ein Sohn dieses älteren Flavianus (I.) gewesen ist. Apion I. war – wie schon anderweitig vermutet⁷ – mit Flavia Isis verheiratet, der Tochter des Strategius I., *curator* der *domus divina* der Kaiserin Aelia Eudocia und Ahnherr der Apionen-Dynastie.⁸ Auf diesen jüngeren Flavianus (II.) sei auch das Urkundenfragment *CPR* 24.9 zu beziehen, das an einen *comes* Fl. Flavianus im Range eines *vir spectabilis* und Grundherrn im Herakleopolites adressiert ist (s.u. Anm. 27). Die *comitiva* und die *spectabilitas* würden anzeigen, daß dieser Text nach *P.Bingen* 135 entstanden und daher an das Ende des 5. Jh. zu datieren sei. Demnach wäre auch der jüngere Flavianus (II.) in den Reichsdienst getreten und in die zweite senatorische Rangklasse der *spectabiles* aufgestiegen.

Jüngst wurde diese Hypothese weiter ausgebaut und erhärtet von Giuseppina Azzarello, die unter Heranziehung aller verfügbaren Testimonien gezeigt hat, daß der Grundbesitz Apions I. zunächst auf den Herakleopolites beschränkt war und Apion auch später municipale Ämter in Oxyrhynchos als Vertreter für seinen Schwiegervater Strategius I. und seine Frau Flavia Isis als *munus* übernommen hat.⁹ Ein entscheidender Fortschritt gelang Azzarello ferner durch die Beobachtung, daß etliche Mitglieder der Familie des Flavianus als πρωτεύοντες von Herakleopolis¹⁰ auftreten und dabei stets das Gen-

25th International Congress of Papyrology (im Druck), Anm. 2-3. Irreführend hingegen *PLRE* 2, Apion 1-3, die drei Personen unterscheidet.

⁷ N. Gonis, *P.Oxy.* 67.4614, Komm. zu Z. 2. Anders noch Mazza (Anm. 6) 54-55 – Flavia Isis begegnet in *P.Oxy.* 63.4390 (469), 4391 (471) und *P.Thomas* 26.v (5. Jh.).

⁸ Zu Fl. Strategius I. s. zuletzt G. Azzarello, *P.Köln* 11.459, Einl. S. 218-222. Der älteren Forschungsliteratur zu den Apionen war dieser Strategius noch unbekannt, weshalb in den Stammbäumen dort sein Enkelsohn, jetzt Strategius II., als Strategius I. aufscheint.

⁹ Azzarello (Anm. 6). Herakleopolitanische Zeugnisse für die *domus* Apions I. sind: *P.Bingen* 135, *P.Eirene* 2.12 (492), *SPP* 20.129 (497), *CPR* 5.17 (spätes 5. Jh.), vielleicht auch *CPR* 6.79 (nach 19.3.483? Vgl. Azzarello [Anm. 6] Anm.52)..

¹⁰ Die ältere Forschung sah im πρωτεύων den Präsidenten der Kurie, während neuere Studien erwiesen, daß der Terminus kein konkretes Amt, sondern eher vage no-

tilnomen Septimius führen.¹¹ So wäre in Septimius Flavianus von *P.Select.* 13 (Herakl., 421) niemand anderer als Flavianus I. in einem sehr frühen Stadium seines Laufbahn zu erblicken; Septimius Ptolemaeus in *SPP* 20.146 (Herakl., Mitte 5. Jh. [s.u. Anm. 28]) wäre dessen Bruder, der sonst als Ptolemaeus *clarissimus* in den Übungstexten aufscheint; und Septimius Herakleides aus *CPR* 6.79 (Herakl., nach dem 19. März 483?) sei zu identifizieren mit Herakleidas, einen Sohn Apions I.¹²

Das Textkonvolut beleuchtet also die entscheidende Phase in der Geschichte einer begüterten Kurialenfamilie, in der einerseits durch Heirat mit einer anderen aufstrebenden Kurialenfamilie die soziale Stellung und das Vermögen abgesichert und vermehrt werden, andererseits die Protagonisten dieser Familien den Sprung von der munizipalen in die provinzialen Ämter und schließlich in Spitzenpositionen des Reiches schaffen: schon Flavianus I. hatte Karriere im Reichsdienst gemacht (dazu im folgenden), bevor sein Sohn, Apion I., durch Heirat mit Flavia Isis auch in deren oxyrhynchitischen Heimat Fuß faßte. Die Verbindung der Familien des Flavianus und des Strategius legte den Grundstein für die sog. Apionen-Dynastie, deren kometenhafter Aufstieg in die höchsten Würden des Reiches eben mit Apion I. am Hofe des Kaisers Anastasius begann. Hierin liegt die historische Bedeutung dieses Dossiers: es dokumentiert, wie es in der schicksalhaften Aufspaltung der Kurialenschicht in Verarmende einerseits und Aufsteiger andererseits im Verlaufe des 5. Jh. einer Kurialenfamilie aus Mittelägypten gelang, in den Reichsdienst einzutreten und Großgrundbesitz zu akkumulieren.

Der fragmentarische Erhaltungszustand vieler Testimonien und unsichere Datierungen bedingen zwar, daß die vorgestellte Rekonstruktion vorerst

table lokale Grundbesitzer (und Ratsmitglieder) bezeichnet: A. Laniado, *Recherches sur les notables municipaux dans l'Empire protobyzantin* (Paris 2002) 201-211 (für das gesamte Reich), und F. Reiter, *P.Köln* 11.460, Einl. S. 239-243 (speziell für Ägypten). Diese Erkenntnis hat insofern Relevanz für den vorliegenden Fall, als ein unspezifisches πρωτεύων auch auf sehr junge Mitglieder der lokalen Führungsschicht angewendet werden konnte (s.u. Anm. 13).

¹¹ Der Umstand, daß dieselbe Person einmal das *gentilicium* Septimius, ein anderes Mal Flavius führt, ist kein Argument gegen eine Identifizierung: Septimius ist das *nomen gentile* der Familie, während Flavius die Standesbezeichnung des kaiserlichen Dienstes ist: J.G. Keenan, "The Names Flavius and Aurelius as Status Designations in Later Roman Egypt," *ZPE* 11 (1973) 33-63, und 13 (1974) 283-304.

¹² Herakleidas (*PLRE* 2 Heraclides) ist ansonsten nur aus einer Erwähnung bei Theodoros Anagnostes, *Epitome* 482 bekannt; s. Gascou (Anm. 6) 63; Mazza (Anm. 6) 56-57, Anm. 45 und 50; Azzarello (Anm. 6) Anm. 25 und 37.

notwendiger Weise hypothetisch bleibt.¹³ Das Netz der Indizien ist aber schon dicht gewoben und kann durch weitere Texte noch enger gezogen werden. Alle bislang identifizierten Texte zu Flavianus I. und II. liegen in der Papyrussammlung der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek in Wien. Nun wurden in den unpublizierten Beständen der Sammlung drei weitere Papyri entdeckt, die zu diesem Konvolut gehören und im folgenden in einer Erstedition vorgelegt werden: das Fragment einer Bittschrift und zwei bruchstückhafte Schreibübungen. Die neuen Texte bieten teils altbekannte Titeln und Rangprädikate, teils aber zusätzliche Informationen, wodurch wiederum andere, bislang nicht der Gruppe zugerechnete Texte als zugehörig erkennbar werden. Dem Textkonvolut um den *vir clarissimus* Fl. Flavianus und seinen Bruder Ptolemaeus sind nach heutigem Wissensstand folgende Schriftstücke zuzuweisen.

Fl. Flavianus I.

Urkunden:

P.Select. 13 mit Taf. V: Beeidete Erklärung zur Beilegung eines Streites, adressiert an Σεπτίμιϛ Φλαουιανῶ πρωτεύοντι Ἡρακλ(εο)πολίτου (Z. 1). Die Urkunde ist durch Postkonsulatsdatum des Theodosius II. auf den 25. Juni 421 datiert (Z. 18-19).

CPR 24.8 mit Taf. 6: Beginn eines Schriftstückes im Briefstil, adressiert an Φλα[ουί]ϛ Φλαουιανῶ τῷ λαμπροτάτῳ ἀποκόμετι πρότου [sic] τάγματος τοῦ θείου κογ[σιστωρίου] | [γεουχο]ῦ[ντ]ι [ἐν τῷ Ἡρακ]λεοπολίτη.¹⁴ Das Fragment könnte von einer Bittschrift stammen, denn Petitionen haben – anders als Verträge – im 5. und 6. Jh. die Datierung oft am Ende des Corpus.¹⁵ Auf

¹³ Ein Schwachpunkt der oben referierten Rekonstruktion sei nicht verschwiegen: man muß sowohl für Flavianus I. als auch für Apion I. sehr lange Lebenszeiten annehmen. Der Tod Apions I. wird zwischen 524 und 532 angesetzt. Selbst wenn man eine über 70-jährige Lebenszeit annimmt, fällt seine Geburt nicht vor 450. Wenn man *P.Select.* 13 vom Jahre 421 auf seinen Vater Flavianus I. bezieht, dann wird man dessen Geburt nicht allzu lange nach 400 ansetzen können. Selbst wenn er schon in jugendlichen Jahren πρωτεύων von Herakleopolis war (421), müßte Flavianus bei der Geburt seines Sohnes Apion demnach bereits ca. 50 Jahre alt gewesen sein. Haben wir in den Septimii Flavianus und Ptolemaeus vielleicht Vertreter einer noch älteren Generation vor uns?

¹⁴ Sollte Flavianus seine *comitiva primi ordinis* durch das Privileg *CTh* 12.1.189 vom 4. Juni 436 erhalten haben (s.u. Anm. 46), dann wäre 441 ein *terminus post quem* für die Datierung des Textes. Frühestens 5 Jahre nach 436 wäre Flavianus *ex comite* gewesen.

¹⁵ Vgl. etwa *P.Vind.Tandem* 6 (Herakl., 428); *M.Chr.* 71 (Herm., 458-473), *CPR* 14.48 (Herakl., 505/6) u.a.m.

dem Verso stehen Bruchstücke einer Namensliste (wie in der Petition *P.Cair. Masp.* 1.67092 [Aphr., 533]).

CPR 24.17: Fragmentarische Erklärung (Dialysis?), gerichtet an den *principes officii* des *praeses Arcadiae* Flavianus. Eine Identifizierung des *praeses* mit Fl. Flavianus, der in *P.Rain.Unterricht* 95 als ἀπὸ ἡγεμόνος bezeichnet wird, erscheint plausibel.¹⁶

SPP 8.1006: Anweisung zur Auslieferung von Wein. Der Text beginnt in Z. 1: Φλαουιανὸς Πτολεμαῖος – Λεοντίῳ βοηθ(ῶ). Das herakleopolitanische Brüderpaar ist Auftraggeber der Anweisung.¹⁷

SPP 20.108: Lohnabrechnung, auf die man quer zum Haupttext sekundär Φλαουιανὸς geschrieben hat.¹⁸

I mit Abb.: Fragment einer Bittschrift (Mustertext?), gerichtet an Φλαουίῳ Φλαουιανῶ [- -].

Übungen in Kanzleischrift:

P.Rain.Unterricht 56 mit Taf. 13: Auf dem Recto steht in Z. 3-4:] Φλλ Φλαο[υι - - | Φλαουιαν *vacat*. Auf dem Verso erscheint zweimal der Name des Fl. Ptolemaeus (Z. 8-9), dann neuerlich Φ Φλ[(Z. 10).¹⁹

P.Rain.Unterricht 57 mit Taf. 13: Auf dem Kleinfragment ist Z. 1-2 zu lesen: Καλλίγ[κος] | Ἀντώνιος. Dieselben Namen begegnen in CPR 24.8.v.5

¹⁶ Aufgrund der Formulierung τῆς Ἀρκάδων ἐπαρχίας (Z. 3), die erst seit dem Beginn des 6. Jh. gebräuchlich wird, habe ich diese Urkunde in der *ed. pr.* in das 6. Jh. gesetzt. N. Gonis, "Three Notes on Governors of Byzantine Egypt," *ZPE* 132 (2000) 180, Anm. 6, hat diese Formel jedoch schon zu Beginn des 5. Jh. nachgewiesen (*ChLA* 43.1247.14), weshalb Azzarello (Anm. 6) Anm. 47 dafür plädiert, diesen Text auf Flavianus I. zu beziehen. Die Paläographie ließe eine Datierung um die Mitte des 5. Jh. zu; die Herkunft des Textes dürfte wegen der Adressierung an den *principes officii* Oxyrhynchos sein, wo der *praeses Arcadiae* sein Büro hatte. Doch auch Herakleopolis wäre denkbar, wo das Statthalterbüro eine Dependence unterhielt; vgl. J.R. Rea, *P.Oxy.* 59.3986, Einl.

¹⁷ Gonis (Anm. 5) 177, Anm. 20. Die Herkunftsangabe der *ed. pr.* ("angeblich Her-mopol") korrigiert er mit Hinweis auf Z. 2: εἰς Ἡρακλέους.

¹⁸ Schon P.J. Sijpesteijn, "Nachlese zu Wiener Texten," *ZPE* 71 (1988) 116 (= *BL* 9:345), hat den Text zum Konvolut des Fl. Flavianus gezählt. Der Text ist demnach in das 5. Jh. zu datieren; s. CPR 24.8 Einl., S. 57, Anm. 8 (*ed. pr.*: 4. Jh.). Die Herkunft des Textes ist der Herakleopolites, nicht der Arsinoites; lediglich der Ziegelstreicher, der in Z. 1 als Lohnempfänger aufscheint, stammt aus dem arsinoitischen Dorfe Busiris.

¹⁹ LDAB 6353. Zur Zugehörigkeit dieses Textes zum Dossier sowie zur Datierung in das 5. Jh. (*ed. pr.*: 6. Jh.) s. CPR 24.8 Einl., S. 57, Anm. 8.

und 6. Da auch der Schriftduktus sehr ähnlich ist, darf man *P.Rain.Unterricht* 57 dem Konvolut zurechnen, obwohl der Name Flavianus nicht aufscheint.²⁰

P.Rain.Unterricht 61 mit Taf. 15: Gegenstand dieser Schreibübung ist ein Postkonsulat des Kaisers Theodosius (440) wie bei 2 und *P.Rain.Unterricht* 95. Die Handschrift dieser Übung gleicht derjenigen aus *P.Rain.Unterricht* 95 und 96 sowie CPR 24.8 und 2. Handschrift und Übungselemente sprechen dafür, auch diesen Text dem Konvolut zuzuordnen, obwohl Flavianus nicht genannt ist.

P.Rain.Unterricht 63 mit Taf. 18: Recto und Verso trugen ursprünglich eine Liste über Zahlungen nach dem Schema π(αρά) Name, Vatersname σίτ(ου) (ἀρτάβαι) Zahl. Neben den Z. 44-45 des Verso wurde später in den leeren Raum geschrieben: Φλαουίω Φλαουιανῶ τῷ λαμπροτάτῳ | ἀπὸ πραιτορος γεουχοῦ[ντ]ι. Zu der Schreibübung gehört auch ein Konsuldatum (419) auf dem Recto, Z. 38 (s.u. s. 156f.).²¹

P.Rain.Unterricht 81 mit Taf. 26 und 27: Unter etlichen anderen Namen erscheint in Z. 32-33: Φλαουίω | Φλαουιανοῦ (l. Φλαουιανῶ). Auch Ἀπ[ι]ωνι in Z. 12 und Ἡρακ[λ]- (ergänze Ἡρακ[λείδει?]) in Z. 14 könnten auf die Familie bezogen werden.²²

P.Rain.Unterricht 95 mit Taf. 34 und 35: Z. 33: Φλλ/ Φλαουιανῶ ἀπὸ ἡγεμόνος καὶ Πτολεμαίω ἀδελφ[ῶ] τοῖς λ]αμπρ[οτάτοις γ]ε[ο]υχοῦσιν ἐν τῷ Ἡρακλεοπολίτ[η]. In den folgenden fragmentarischen Zeilen wird Flavianus noch mehrmals genannt, wobei jedoch kein Titel erhalten ist. Zudem erscheint in Z. 3 eine Konsuldatierung (399?) und in Z. 13-14 ein fiktives Postkonsulat des Flavianus (s.u. Anm. 48).²³

P.Rain.Unterricht 96 mit Taf. 33 hat auf dem Recto Z. 1: Π]τολεμαίων (l. Πτολεμαίω) ἀπὸ πραιτόρων γεούχοις ἀδελφοῖς λαμ(προτάτοις), in Z. 2 nochmals λαμπ[ρο(τάτοις) ἀπὸ πραιτόρων γεούχοις ἀδελφοῖς λαμπροτάτοις. Auf dem Verso wird in den bruchstückhaften Z. 6-8 mindestens dreimal die Wendung Φλαουίω Φλαουιανῶ ἀπὸ κονσουλαρίων wiederholt. Vielleicht war er auch in Z. 9, wo mehrfach Flavius geschrieben ist, erwähnt. Zudem steht auf dem Kleinfragment (Z. 11) Φλαουιανο[.²⁴

²⁰ LDAB 5746. Die in der *ed. pr.* angegebene Datierung "4. Jh. n. Chr." ist zu verändern in "5. Jh."

²¹ LDAB 6041. Kleinere Textkorrekturen bei D. Hagedorn, *Korr. Tyche* 70, *Tyche* 7 (1992) 228 (= *BL* 10:131), und J. Diethart, *Korr. Tyche* 166, *Tyche* 10 (1995) 240-241.

²² LDAB 6017. Hagedorn (Anm. 21) 228.

²³ LDAB 6043. Korrekturen von Hagedorn (Anm. 21) 228, und Diethart (Anm. 21) 240f. (= *BL* 10:131). Lies τοῦ λαμπροτάτου ἀπὸ ἡγεμόνος καὶ Πτολεμαίου.

²⁴ LDAB 6019. In Hinblick auf die Datierung ist es von Interesse, daß auf demselben Papyrusblatt auch Φλαουίω Αὐσονίω τῷ λαμπ[ροτάτῳ] steht (Z. 5). Nach N. Gonis,

P.Rain.Unterricht 103 mit Taf. 40: Nach anderen Namen und Formelteilen steht in Z. 9: μερίδ(ος) Φλαουιανού λαμ(προτάτου) καὶ Πτολεμαίου ἀδελφ(ῶν) (zum Begriff μερίς s.u. Anm. 31).²⁵

2 mit Abb.: Z. 1-4: Φλ(αουίω) Φλαουια[νῶ - - | Φλαουιανῶ τῷ μεγ[αλοπρεπεστάτῳ - - κόμετι πρώτου] | τάγματος τῶν θ[είων - - ἀπὸ] | πραιτωρος ἀδ[ε]λ[φ] - -. Durch ἀδ[ε]λ[φ] ist deutlich, daß auch Ptolemaeus genannt war. In Z. 6 ist ein Postkonsulat des Theodosius II. (440) erwähnt (s.u. Edition, Komm. zu Z. 6).

3 mit Abb.: In dem Fragment begegnen mehrere Elemente, die auch in anderen Texten des Dossiers aufscheinen: Z. 1-3: [θείου κον]σιςτρωρίου καὶ Πτολεμαίῳ [τῷ] | [λαμπ]ρ[οτ]άτῳ ἀπὸ πραιτορος ἀδελφοῖς | γεουχοῦσιν ἐν τῷ Ἡρακλεοπολίτῃ. Flavianus war vor der erhaltenen Z. 1 genannt.

Fl. Flavianus II.

P.Bingen 135 mit Taf. 85: Auf diesem Papyrusblatt stehen fünf Pachtzinsquittungen, als deren Erheber jeweils Ἰωάννης παραλ(ήμπτης) Ἀπίωνος περιβλ(έπτου) καὶ Φλαουιανού λαμπροτάτου genannt wird.²⁶

CPR 24.9 mit Taf. 8: Vertragsfragment (?) im Briefstil, Z. 1-2: Φλ(αουίω) Φλαουιανῶ τῷ περιβλέπτῳ κόμιτι | [vac.?] γε[ου]χοῦντι ἐν τῷ Ἡρακλεοπολίτῃ. Der Beginn von Z. 2 und damit Datierung und Zuweisung des Textes sind unsicher.²⁷

“Prosopographica,” *APF* 51 (2005) 88-90, ist dies derselbe Ausonius, der auch in *SB* 22.15586 – einer Schreibübung aus dem Herakleopolites (mit der Lesekorrektur von Gonis, 88, Anm. 8), die neben dem Protokollon *SB* 22.15578 vom Jahre 436-438 steht – und dem herakleopolitanischen Pachtvertrag *P.Vind.Sijp.* 9 (ca. 417) erwähnt ist. Vermutlich ist dieser *vir clarissimus* zu identifizieren mit dem gleichnamigen *comes* in *SPP* 20.111 (Ende 4./Anf. 5. Jh.) und dem Großgrundbesitzer in *P.Heid.* 7.408 (Ende 4./Anf. 5. Jh.) sowie *corrector Augustamnicae* aus dem frühen 5. Jh., der in den Briefen des Isidorus von Pelusium erwähnt wird; vgl. A. Coşkun, “Ausonioi im Osten des Römischen Reiches,” *APF* 48 (2002) 257-266, bes. 265, Anm. 7-8.

²⁵ *LDAB* 6026. λαμ(προτάτου) hergestellt von Hagedorn (Anm. 21) 228 (= *BL* 10:131). ἀδελφ(ῶν) statt ἀδελφ(οῦ): vgl. *P.Rain.Unterricht* 96 und 3 (Azzarello brieflich).

²⁶ Neuedition von *SPP* 8.772 und zweier zusätzlicher Fragmente. Zur Identifizierung der Personen s.o. Anm. 6. Zur Datierung (wohl 483) s. Azzarello (Anm. 6) Anm. 52.

²⁷ In *CPR* 24.9 habe ich diesen Text um die Mitte des 5. Jh. datiert, auf den (älteren) Flavianus der Übungstexte bezogen und den Titel folgendermaßen rekonstruiert: Φλ(αουίω) Φλαουιανῶ τῷ περιβλέπτῳ κόμετι | [πρώτου τάγματος] γε[ου]χοῦντι κτλ (Z. 1-2). Die *comitiva primi ordinis* war das Hauptargument für die Identifizierung mit dem älteren Flavianus, der diesen Titel in *CPR* 24.8 führt. Gonis (Anm. 5) 177, Anm. 22 hat moniert, daß die Ergänzung am Beginn der Z. 2 zu lang für die Lücke

Fl. Ptolemaeus

SPP 20.146: Diese in Konstantinopel aufgesetzte Darlehensurkunde ist adressiert an Σεπτι[μ]ίω Πτολεμαίω πρωτεύοντι Ἡρακλέους | [πόλεως (Z. 3-4), der mit dem Fl. Ptolemaeus aus den Übungstexten zu identifizieren ist.²⁸

SB 22.15587 mit Abb. in *Tyche* 9 (1994) Taf. 7: Schreibübung im herakleopolitanischen Stil. In Z. 1 steht: ἐπὶ τοῦ λαμπρ(οτάτου) Πτολεμαί(ου) Πτολ[ε]μαί-.²⁹ In Z. 4 wird ein Postkonsulat der Marcianus erwähnt (*cos.* 451). Dieser Text steht auf dem Verso des Protokollon SB 22.15579, das 433/4 oder 448/9 oder 463/4 ausgefertigt worden ist. Wegen der Koinzidenz der Daten erscheint es am wahrscheinlichsten, daß das Protokollon 448/9 erstellt und die Schreibübung 15587 mit dem Postkonsulat im Jahre 452 oder später angebracht wurde.

Fl. Ptolemaeus wird ferner in SPP 8.1006 und in den schon besprochenen Übungstexten *P.Rain. Unterricht* 56.8-9; 95.13-14 und 33; 96.1; 103.9 sowie 3.1 erwähnt. In dem fragmentarischen 2.4 ist sein Name zwar nicht erhalten, doch deutet ἀδ[ε]λ[φ] in Z. 4 darauf hin, daß er genannt war.

Es gibt keine Gewähr dafür, daß die Titel und Rangprädikate, die Flavianus I. und Ptolemaeus beigegeben werden, authentisch sind; möglich wäre es aber doch, denn sie lassen sich zu einer plausiblen, wenngleich außergewöhnlichen Karriere reihen: in mindestens vier Übungstexten und in *CPR*

sei, eine gekürzte Schreibweise wie etwa α' ταγμα/ jedoch keine Parallele habe. Aber jede andere Spezifizierung der *comitiva* bräuchte noch mehr Platz. Vielleicht sollte man annehmen, daß Z. 2 mit einem Einzug begann und vor γε[ου]χοῦντι nur καὶ zu ergänzen ist – was freilich auch ungewöhnlich wäre. Fällt die *ordo*-Angabe weg, dann gibt es kein Hindernis mehr (vgl. *CPR* 24, Exkurs II, S. 65-67), *CPR* 24.9 in das späte 5. Jh. zu datieren. Ein weiterer Einwand, der gegen einen Bezug auf den älteren Flavianus sprechen könnte – daß dieser nämlich nur *clarissimus* gewesen sei – ist durch 2 obsolet geworden; dort führt er erstmals den Rangtitel μεγαλοπρεπέστατος, der gewöhnlich die zweite senatorische Rangklasse (*spectabiles*) bezeichnet. Wenn Flavianus I. in 2 *spectabilis* und bereits *ex comite* ist, so könnte das ein Indiz dafür sein, daß der Adressat von *CPR* 24.9 eher sein Sohn Flavianus II. war, der *spectabilis* und gleichzeitig (noch) *comes* ist; vgl. aber 2, Komm. zu Z. 2-3.

²⁸ Die Ergänzung Σεπτι[μ]ίω wurde von H. Harrauer in *CPR* 6.79 Einl., S. 135 (= *BL* 8:469) vorgeschlagen. Die Korrektur des Frauennamens Σούρας (Z. 5) in *BL* 9:267, bleibt zweifelhaft. Zur Identifizierung der Personen s. Azzarello (Anm. 6). Der Text ist nun in die Mitte des 5. Jh. zu datieren (*ed. pr.*: 5.-6. Jh.).

²⁹ So ist anstelle von ἐπὶ τοῦ λήμμα(τος) Πτολεμαί() Πτολ[ε]μα (*ed. pr.* und *SB*) nach dem Photo zu lesen. In Z. 4 ist κληρ() Ἡρακλείδ[ου] λιβό[ς] zu korrigieren in: κληρ(ονόμοι) Ἡρακλείδ[ου] λιβ[ρ]α[ρίου].

24.8.1 wird Flavianus I. als γεοῦχος bezeichnet.³⁰ Andere Belege wie etwa die Zahlungsanweisung *SPP* 8.1006 oder die Lohnabrechnung *SPP* 20.108 nennen Flavianus zwar nicht explizit γεοῦχος, doch weist das dokumentierte Geschäft auf grundherrlichen Hintergrund. Aufschlußreich ist ferner, daß in *P.Rain. Unterricht* 103.9 eine μερίς des Flavianus und Ptolemaeus erwähnt wird. μερίς bezeichnet im fiskalischen Kontext eine Steuereinheit,³¹ und dies zeigt an, daß der Grundbesitz der Brüder als Gemeingut (wohl Erbengemeinschaft) verwaltet wurde und so beträchtliche Ausmaße hatte, daß er eine eigene Verrechnungseinheit in der Finanzverwaltung darstellte.

Bemerkenswert sind in jedem Fall die Amtsbezeichnungen des Flavianus, wobei einige Texte auch mehrere dieser Titel auflisten. Schon am Beginn seiner Karriere zählte Flavianus – wohl noch in jungen Jahren – zu den πρωτεῦντες von Herakleopolis (*P.Select.* 13). In *P.Rain. Unterricht* 95.13-14 und 33 wird er als ἀπὸ ἡγεμόνος betitelt, was im 5. Jh. einen ehemaligen Statthalter (am ehesten einen *ex praeside*) bezeichnet. Tatsächlich wird ein ἡγεμών Flavianus im Vorspann der koptischen Rede des Schenute von Atriye “Über die Pflichten von Richtern” erwähnt.³² Da Schenute bis mindestens 451 (vielleicht 466) Abt des Weißen Klosters nahe Panopolis war, muß der genannte Flavianus ein *praeses* der Thebais in der ersten Hälfte oder Mitte des 5. Jh. gewesen sein. Eine Identifizierung mit Flavianus I. wäre demnach chronologisch möglich.³³ Falls *CPR* 24.17 zum Dossier gehört, dann war Flavianus auch noch *praeses Arcadiae*, wobei unklar bleibt, ob er dieses Amt vor oder nach seiner Statthalterschaft in der Thebais bekleidet hat. Auf ein weiteres, höherrangiges Statthalteramt weist die Bezeichnung ἀπὸ κονσουλαρίων in *P.Rain. Unterricht* 96.6-8, die in den Papyri singulär ist. Dieses Amt muß Flavianus außerhalb Ägyptens

³⁰ *P.Rain. Unterricht* 63.45 und 3.3, ferner in *P.Rain. Unterricht* 95.33 und 96.1-2 gemeinsam mit seinem Bruder Ptolemaeus.

³¹ J. Gascou und P.J. Sijpesteijn, “*P.Berol.* G 25003: deux documents fiscaux hermapolites,” *ZPE* 97 (1993) 116-124, bes. 119-121.

³² Edition mit Übersetzung und ausführlichem Kommentar: P. du Bourguet, “Entretien de Chenoute sur les devoirs de juges,” *BIFAO* 55 (1955) 85-109. Dazu J. Hahn, “Hoher Besuch im Weissen Kloster: Flavianus, praeses Thebaidis, bei Schenute von Atriye,” *ZPE* 87 (1991) 248-252, bes. 249-250.

³³ Die Identifizierung wurde erwogen von Hagedorn (Anm. 21) 228. Dieser Flavianus fehlte bislang in den Fasten der *praesides Thebaidis* bei J. Lallemand, *L'administration civile de l'Égypte de l'avènement de Dioclétien à la création du diocèse* (Bruxelles 1964) 249-255 und P.J. Sijpesteijn und K.A. Worp, “Ergänzung der Präfekten- und Praesides-Liste,” *Tyche* 1 (1986) 193.

bekleidet haben, denn keine der Teilprovinzen auf ägyptischem Boden unterstand einem *consularis*.³⁴

Fast genauso außergewöhnlich ist in der papyrologischen Dokumentation die Bezeichnung ἀπὸ πραιτορος, die Flavianus in *P.Rain. Unterricht* 96.1 und 2 (mit Ptolemaeus) sowie 63.45 beigegeben ist. Der Titel *praetor* bezeichnet in der östlichen Hälfte des Imperium Romanum das prestigeträchtige, aber kostspielige städtische Prätorenamnt in Konstantinopel.³⁵ Flavianus und Ptolemaeus hätten gegebenenfalls einen Abschnitt ihres Lebens in Konstantinopel verbracht. Außer Flavianus (und Ptolemaeus in *P.Rain. Unterricht* 96.2) sind bislang erst zwei weitere Träger dieses Titels in Ägypten nachgewiesen: Flavius Olympius, gleichfalls Grundbesitzer im Herakleopolites,³⁶ und ein *defensor Alexandriae*.³⁷ Alle vier Amtsträger sind *ex praetore*, waren also bereits aus dem Amt geschieden oder haben den Titel nur *honoris causa* geführt. Auf ein weiteres hochrangiges Staatsamt verweist das θεῖου κονσιςτωρίου in *CPR* 24.8.1 und 3.1, das die *comitiva sacri consistorii* anzeigt.³⁸ Die meisten der *comites consistoriani*, die in den Papyri begegnen, haben diese Würde nach 429 bekleidet, als durch die kaiserliche Konstitution *CTh* 1.1.5-6 diese *comitiva* ausgeweitet worden war. Sie dürften den Titel nur ehrenhalber erhalten haben, ohne ein wirkliches Mitglied des kaiserlichen Kronrates zu sein.³⁹ Bei

³⁴ Die *Notitia Dignitatum* verzeichnet *Or.* 1.55-77 fünfzehn Provinzen unter *consulares*, um 1.78 ausdrücklich festzuhalten: *Aegyptus autem consularitatem non habet*. Vgl. die Tabelle der Provinzialordnung in B. Palme, "The Imperial Presence: Government and Army," in R.S. Bagnall (ed.), *Egypt in the Byzantine World 300-700* (Cambridge 2007) 246.

³⁵ A. Chastagnol, "Observations sur le consulat suffect et la préture du Bas-Empire," *RH* 219 (1958) 221-253, bes. 243-252; A.H.M. Jones, *The Later Roman Empire* (Oxford 1964) 2:532, 537-542, 705-707.

³⁶ Zu seinem Dossier s. B. Palme, "Flavius Olympius, der 'Kaiserliche Hofrat,'" in F. Beutler und W. Hameter (edd.), „Eine ganz normale Inschrift“ ... und ähnliches zum Geburtstag von Ekkehard Weber (Wien 2005) 461-476, bes. 464-465, und Gonis (Anm. 24) 90-92.

³⁷ *P.Thomas* 24 (Herakl., 4./5. Jh.). Der Mann ist Verhandlungsleiter in einem Prozeß; sein Name ist verloren, der Titel *ex] praet(ore)* jedoch plausibel ergänzt; vgl. den Kommentar von U. und D. Hagedorn *ad loc.*

³⁸ Zur Entwicklung der *comitiva consistoriana* vgl. P.B. Weiß, *Consistorium und comites consistoriani* (Diss. Würzburg 1975); R. Delmaire, *Les institutions du Bas-Empire romain de Constantin à Justinien I. Les institutions civiles palatines* (Paris 1995) 29-45; und in Hinblick auf Ägypten: *CPR* 24.8, Einl. S. 59-61.

³⁹ *CPR* 24, Exkurs III: *Comites sacri consistorii* in den Papyri und Inschriften Ägyptens, S. 68-71. Neue Belege: *P.Oxy.* 70.4780 (457); 68.4696 (484), 4701 (505). *P.Ryl.* 4.652 liegt als Neuedition in SB 24.16262 vor.

Flavianus I. könnte das anders gewesen sein, denn auf ein weiteres palatines Amt verweist das fragmentarische τῶν θ[είων in 2.3, das Bestandteil von τῶν θ[είων λαργιτιόνων aus der Titulatur des *comes sacrarum largitionum* sein dürfte (s. Komm. *ad loc.*). Falls all diese Titel nicht Phantasiegebilde sind, dann hat Flavianus I. den Aufstieg bis in die höchsten Ämter des Reiches geschafft – und damit eine Karriere absolviert, die der seines Sohnes Apion I. um nichts nachstand.⁴⁰

Als Rangprädikat führt Flavianus in der Regel λαμπρότατος (*clarissimus*),⁴¹ welches den einfachen senatorischen Rang anzeigt. Neu hinzu kommt durch 2.2 das Prädikat μεγαλοπρεπέστατος (*magnificentissimus*), das in den Papyri bis um 430 zumeist eine Zugehörigkeit zu der zweiten senatorischen Rangklasse (*spectabilitas*) anzeigt.⁴² Danach bezeichnet περίβλεπτος den *vir spectabilis*, während μεγαλοπρεπέστατος keine konkrete Rangklasse, sondern bloß allgemein senatorischen Rang kennzeichnet.⁴³ Zusätzlich wird Flavianus in 2.3 als Inhaber der *comitiva primi ordinis* bezeichnet, in CPR 24.8.1 dann als ehemaliger *comes primi ordinis*: ἀπόκομες πρώτου τάγματος. Diese Angaben beziehen sich auf die noch unter Konstantin vorgenommene Abstufung der *comitiva* in eine *primi*, *secundi* und *tertii ordinis*.⁴⁴ Seit dem Beginn des 5. Jh. wurde im Zuge der schrittweisen Deklassierung der *comitiva* auch diejenige *primi ordinis* – und nur diese wird in den Papyri expliziert⁴⁵ – als eine von jeglicher aktiven Funktion losgelöste Würde vergeben.⁴⁶ Für eine befristete Ehrung spricht das *ex comite*, doch Flavianus könnte den Rangtitel auch durch

⁴⁰ Ähnlich aufsehenerregende Karrieren absolvierten etliche der *comites sacrarum largitionum* und *comites rei privatae*; vgl. R. Delmaire, *Les responsables des finances impériales au Bas-Empire romain IV^e-VI^e siècles. Études prosopographiques* (Bruxelles 1989): z.B. Fl. Eutolmius Tatianus, CSL Orient 374-380 (S. 62-67); Fl. Eudoxius, CSL Orient 427-438 (S. 212-215); Alexander, CPR Orient 480 (S. 227-230).

⁴¹ P.Rain. Unterricht 95.14, 33 und 96.1-2, 9, sowie 63.44 und 103.9; CPR 24.8.1.

⁴² C. Zuckerman, "Comtes et ducs en Egypte autour de l'an 400 et la date de la Notitia Dignitatum Orientis," *AnTard* 6 (1998) 137-147, bes. 143-144, Anm. 53.

⁴³ Zu περίβλεπτος (*spectabilis*) s. Weiß (Anm. 38) 38-39; R. Scharf, *Comites und comitiva primi ordinis* (Stuttgart 1994) 24-27. Zu μεγαλοπρεπέστατος s. R. Delmaire, "Les dignitaires laïcs au concile de Chalcédoine. Notes sur la hiérarchie et les préséances au milieu du V^e siècle," *Byzantion* 54 (1984) 141-175, bes. 159.

⁴⁴ H. Löhken, *Ordines Dignitatum. Untersuchungen zur formalen Konstituierung der spätantiken Führungsschicht* (Köln 1982) 100-101; Scharf (Anm. 43) mit Belegliste S. 59-61.

⁴⁵ Vgl. die Zusammenstellung der Belege aus Ägypten in CPR 24, Exkurs II, S. 65-67.

⁴⁶ In Ägypten mag insbesondere die Regelung CTh 12.1.189 (= CJ 10.32.56 mit leicht variiertem Wortlaut) vom 4. Juni 436 zum Tragen gekommen sein, durch welche die

die Bekleidung der hohen Reichsämtler erworben haben. In den Inschriften und Papyri begegnen häufig *comites primi ordinis* mit dem Clarissimat (wie Flavianus in CPR 24.8) und bisweilen auch *viri (clarissimi et) spectabiles* (wie Flavianus in 2).⁴⁷

Fl. Ptolemaeus, der Bruder Flavianus' I., ist gleichfalls *vir clarissimus* (*P.Rain. Unterricht* 95.33 und 96.1-2 sowie SB 22.15587 und 3.2) und γεοῦχος (*P.Rain. Unterricht* 95.33 und 96.1-2 sowie 3.3). Daß er Grundbesitzer war, geht zudem indirekt aus seiner Erwähnung in der Zahlungsanweisung SPP 8.1006 und der περὶς-Angabe in *P.Rain. Unterricht* 103 hervor. Auch Ptolemaeus dürfte hohe Ämter bekleidet haben: in 96.1 und 2 wird der Titel ἀπὸ πραιτόρων auch auf ihn bezogen; in 2.3-4 und 3.2 ist er alleine ἀπὸ πραιτορος. Sehr wahrscheinlich ist er (wie dargelegt) mit Septimius Ptolemaeus, dem πρωτεύων von Herakleopolis in SPP 20.146 zu identifizieren. Diese Urkunde wurde in Konstantinopel ausgestellt, und dies wiederum könnte ein Indiz dafür sein, daß (auch) Ptolemaeus das Praetorenamt ebendort tatsächlich ausgeübt und *ex praetoribus* nicht als bloßen Ehrentitel geführt hat. Grundbesitz, πρωτεύων von Herakleopolis, Clarissimat und weitere Ämter in Konstantinopel: Ptolemaeus teilte mit Flavianus I. nicht nur die familiäre Ausgangslage; auch einige Schritte ihrer Karrieren verliefen gleich.

Sollte die Rekonstruktion stimmen, so führt insbesondere Flavianus I. beispielhaft vor Augen, wie ein herausragender Angehöriger der Kurialenschicht den entscheidenden Schritt von der munizipalen Ebene in den Reichsdienst schaffte, indem er zunächst eine oder zwei Statthalterschaften in Ägypten (beide im Rang eines *praeses*) bekleidete, bevor er mit der Übernahme einer auswärtigen Statthalterschaft im Range eines *consularis* auch außerhalb seiner Heimat reüssierte. Von da avancierte er in konstantinopolitanische Ämter und schließlich sogar in die palatinen *comitivae consistoriana* und *sacrarum largitionum*.

Einer speziellen Erörterung bedürfen die diversen Datierungsangaben und ihre Relevanz für die zeitliche Einordnung des Dossiers. Zwei Überlegungen sind voranzustellen. Erstens zur Paläographie: alle Schreibübungen

ranghöchsten *curiales* von Alexandria nach vorbildlicher Pflichterfüllung für fünf Jahre den Titel *comes primi ordinis* führen durften.

⁴⁷ Vgl. die inschriftlichen Belege bei Scharf (Anm. 43) 60-61; Papyri: CPR 5.14 (Herakl., 475), vielleicht auch *P.Rain.Cent.* 106 (Herakl., 475) mit dem Kommentar von K.A. Worp zu Z. 3. Zu Clarissimat und Spectabilität der Comites vgl. auch F. Mitthof, "Remigius comes primi ordinis et praefectus Augustalis," ZPE 109 (1995) 114-115. Häufiger ist die Verbindung μεγαλοπρεπέστατος και περίβλεπτος; vgl. etwa die Belege in CPR 24, Exkurs III, S. 70-71.

weisen so große Ähnlichkeiten auf, daß die Vermutung kaum von der Hand zu weisen ist, derselbe Schreiber habe die Übungstexte verfaßt. Selbstverständlich ist das kein zwingendes Argument, zumal ein bestimmter Kanzleistil trainiert wird, der notwendiger Weise stets ähnliche Formungen verlangt. Aber dort, wo gleiche Wörter vorkommen, ist der Duktus an vielen Stellen so gleichförmig, daß man doch an ein und dieselbe Schreiberhand glauben möchte. Zweitens erscheint es wenig plausibel, daß all die Schreibübungen, die wohl aus einem Fundkomplex stammen und so viele prosopographische Berührungspunkte aufweisen, über einen Zeitraum von vielen Jahren oder gar Jahrzehnten hinweg entstanden sein sollen. Viel leichter ist es vorstellbar, daß ein bereits routinierter Schreiber innerhalb kurzer Zeit seinen "herakleopolitanischen Stil" perfektionieren wollte und dazu einerseits obsolet gewordene Papyrusblätter seiner Schreibstube verwendete, andererseits ältere Urkunden als Muster für seine Übungen heranzog. Das heißt: vermutlich entstanden die Übungstexte ungefähr gleichzeitig, und ausschlaggebend für die Entstehungszeit des Konvoluts insgesamt ist das späteste eruierebare Datum. Angesichts des spekulativen Charakters dieser Überlegungen mag es jedoch nicht überflüssig sein, alle verfügbaren Datierungsindizien Revue passieren zu lassen.

In *P.Rain.Unterricht* 95.3 wird das Postkonsulat eines Fl. Theodorus genannt, das sich auf den Konsul des Jahres 399 beziehen könnte. Ferner wird Z. 13-14 das Postkonsulat eines Fl. Flavianus λαμπρότατος ἀπὸ ἡγεμόνος erwähnt. Es ist unwahrscheinlich, daß diese Datierung sich auf (Fl.) Nicomachus Flavianus bezieht, der 394 das Konsulat bekleidet hatte, aber nur im Westreich anerkannt war. Zumindest diese Datumsangabe scheint fiktiv zu sein, wobei Flavianus I. selbst zum Konsul avancierte.⁴⁸ Auch das Konsuldatum 399 läge mindestens zwanzig Jahre vor den anderen datierenden Hinweisen, weshalb wohl auch diese Angabe als erfunden oder anachronistisch anzusehen ist. Hingegen hat die Postkonsulats-Datierung nach dem 13. Konsulat des Theodosius und dem 3. des Valentinian (*coss.* 430) in Z. 21 bessere Chancen, real zu sein. Daraus ließe sich ein *terminus post quem* von 431 für die Schreibübung ableiten. Sieht man die in Z. 7 genannte 3. Indiktion als das Entstehungsjahr an, käme man auf 434/5, 449/50 etc.

In *P.Rain.Unterricht* 63, Recto Z. 38 steht, um 90 Grad gegenüber dem ursprünglichen Text (Zahlungsliste) gedreht: μετὰ τὴν ὑπατείαν Φλαουίων Μοῦ[α]ξίου (*cos.* 419). Obwohl der Name des zweiten Konsuls fehlt, hat man dies bislang als gültige Datumsangabe gewertet und den Text auf "ca. 420/1" datiert. Da das Konsuldatum eindeutig zu dem sekundär angebrachten

⁴⁸ In diesem Sinne auch Hagedorn (Anm. 21) 228. Zum Konsulat des Nicomachus Flavianus s. R.S. Bagnall et al., *The Consuls of the Later Roman Empire* (Atlanta 1987) 322.

Übungstext auf diesem Papyrus gehört, ist es jedoch allenfalls als *terminus post quem* anzusehen. Ein Hinweis auf eine spätere Entstehungszeit der sekundären Beschriftungen (Konsuldatierung und Schreibübungen) ist die Nennung des Ὀλύμπιος πολιτευόμενος Ἡρακλέου(ς) in Z. 33. Dieser Olympius ist zu identifizieren mit Ὀλύμπιος πολιτευόμενος, der in der Abrechnung SPP 20.123 Verso aufscheint und in die Jahre um 445 zu setzen ist, dem Datum des Darlehensvertrages auf der Rectoseite dieses Papyrusblattes.⁴⁹ Sehr wahrscheinlich ist dieser *curialis* Olympius niemand anderer als jener *vir clarissimus* und γεοῦχος Olympius, der später als *ex praetoribus* (463) und *comes sacri consistorii* (475) bezeugt ist. *P.Rain. Unterricht* 63 und SPP 20.123 zeigen ihn in einem früheren Stadium seiner Laufbahn, als er noch auf munizipaler Ebene tätig war. Der zeitliche Abstand zu den Belegen für Olympius aus den 60er und 70er Jahren spricht dafür, *P.Rain. Unterricht* 63 um 445 anzusetzen (wie SPP 20.123). Das Postkonsulat von 420 ist, wie jenes in *P.Rain. Unterricht* 95, eine antiquierte Angabe ohne aktuellen Bezug zur Entstehungszeit der Schreibübung.

Eine datierende Angabe enthielt auch 2.5-6: δεσπότης | ἡμῶν Θεοδοσίου τ[οῦ κτλ. Der Umstand, daß eine Datierungsformel nach Theodosius II. geübt wird, bringt diesen Text in Verbindung mit *P.Rain. Unterricht* 61, wo in Z. 1-2 gleichfalls die Formel geübt wird: μετὰ τὴν ὑπατείαν τοῦ δεσπότης ἡμῶν Θεοδοσίου [τοῦ αἰ]]ωνίου Αὐγούστου τὸ ιζ καὶ Φλαουίου Μαξιμίνου τραπεζ() καὶ α[- - . Die Herausgeber bemerken zu Recht, daß ein Konsul Fl. Maximinus τραπεζίτης (!) undenkbar ist. Das 17. Konsulat des Theodosius (zusammen mit Rufius Postumius Florus) fällt in das Jahr 439, weshalb diese Datierung mit Vorbehalt auf das Jahr 440 (als *terminus post quem*) zu beziehen ist.

Auf etwa denselben Zeitabschnitt dürfte auch *P.Rain. Unterricht* 96 verweisen, wo neben Namen und Titeln des Flavianus und Ptolemaeus auf dem Recto Z. 5 steht: Φλαυίῳ Αὐσονίῳ τῷ λαμ[προτάτῳ. Dies ist sehr wahrscheinlich derselbe Ausonius *vir clarissimus*, der auch in der Schreibübung SB 22.15586 begegnet, die auf dem Protokollon SB 22.15578 aus den Jahren 436-438 angebracht wurde (s.o. Anm. 24). Ausgehend von der Annahme, daß diese beiden Schreibübungen ungefähr gleichzeitig entstanden sein dürften, gelten auch für *P.Rain. Unterricht* 96 die Jahre 436-438 als *terminus post quem*.

Auf ein noch späteres Datum verweist schließlich die Schreibübung SB 22.15587, die Ptolemaeus nennt und in Z. 4 ein Postkonsulat der Marcianus erwähnt (*cos.* 451). Dieser Text ist demnach 452 oder später geschrieben worden. Nach den eingangs angestellten Überlegungen, wonach das späteste Datum ausschlaggebend für die Datierung der Übungstexte sein dürfte, wären diese also in die Jahre um 452 oder bald danach zu setzen. Die älteren Konsul- und

⁴⁹ Gonis (Anm. 24) 92 und Palme (Anm. 36) 468.

Postkonsulatdatierungen wären teils fiktiv, teils abgeschrieben von älteren Urkunden, die als Muster dienten. Der Datierungsansatz bald nach der Mitte des 5. Jh. paßt im Übrigen gut zu der Beobachtung, daß Fl. Flavianus aus den Übungstexten mit Septimius Flavianus, dem πρωτεύων von Herakleopolis in *P.Select.* 13 vom Jahre 421, zu identifizieren ist. Zwischen den 20er und den 50er Jahren war Flavianus aufgestiegen von der munizipalen Elite zu Statthalterschaften und Reichsämtern. Die Übungstexte, die ihn als gewesenen *praetor*, *consularis* etc. nennen, müssen in einer späten Lebensphase des Flavianus I. entstanden sein. Wenn man also die Lebensdaten der Flavianus mit ca. 400-460 ansetzen darf, so ist er (erwartungsgemäß) ein Zeitgenosse Strategius' I., mit dessen Tochter sein Sohn, Apion I., verheiratet war.

1. *P.Vindob. G 30144: Bittschrift (Mustertext?)*

Herakleopolites

13.9 x 9 cm

Mitte 5. Jh. n. Chr.

Fragment eines mittelbraunen, feinen Papyrusblattes. Oben und an der linken Seite sind die beschnittenen Ränder erhalten, rechts und unten ist das Blatt abgebrochen, wobei die Bruchkanten ziemlich regelmäßig verlaufen. Die Beschriftung in schwarzer, blasser Tinte läßt oberhalb der ersten Zeile nur wenige Millimeter Freiraum, zur linken Seite hin ca. 1.5 cm. Das Verso ist leer.

Ἀξιῶ[σις
 Φλαονίῳ Φλαουιανῶ [
 παρὰ Ἀντιοχίας ἰδιᾶ[
 4 πᾶσι τοῖς ἀδικουμένοις . . [
 ἐπικουρεῖν μήτι γε ἐμοί . [
 νῳ μου νηπίῳ υἱῶ ε . ε . [
 εἶχον πρὸς οἴκησ[ιν
 8 ἐν ᾗ καὶ Σατορνειλ[
 θρασὺς τις ὦν ἐπε[
 πολλὰς μὲν `μοι´ πολλὰκι[ς
 . αἰον ἔφοδον ου . [
 12 καὶ πληγὰς μοι ἀν[
 λοιδορησάμενος [

3 ἰδιᾶ[Pap.

φρασεωφραιο^{ορι}
 παρα^{ορι} ^{ορι} ^{ορι}
 πυλитоι ^{ορι} ^{ορι} ^{ορι}
 πικονρδ^{ορι} ^{ορι} ^{ορι}
 νωρδ^{ορι} ^{ορι} ^{ορι}
 ζχον ^{ορι} ^{ορι} ^{ορι}
 δηκε^{ορι} ^{ορι} ^{ορι}
 φρα^{ορι} ^{ορι} ^{ορι}
 πα^{ορι} ^{ορι} ^{ορι}
 γο^{ορι} ^{ορι} ^{ορι}
 λ^{ορι} ^{ορι} ^{ορι}
 λ^{ορι} ^{ορι} ^{ορι}

“Gesuch [– – –] An Flavius Flavianus [– – –] von Antiochia [– – –] allen, die Unrecht erleiden [– – –] helfen, nicht so sehr mir, [sondern – – –] meinem unmündigen Sohn [– – –] ich hatte zum Bewohnen [– – –] in der auch Satorneil[– – –] der ein Dreister ist [– – –] viele mir oft [– – –] Angriff [– – –] und mir Schläge [– – –] beschimpfend [– – –].”

Das fragmentarische Schriftstück ist nach Überschrift und Tonfall die Petition einer Frau namens Antiochia an Fl. Flavianus. Wieviel Text an der rechten Seite und unten verloren gegangen ist, bleibt unklar, da an keiner Stelle der Wortlaut soweit rekonstruiert werden kann, daß sich ein Anschluß zwischen aufeinanderfolgenden Zeilen ergibt. Rechts scheint mindestens die Hälfte des Textes zu fehlen – eher noch mehr, denn Flavianus war wohl mit Titeln und Rangprädikaten versehen. Bittschriften von Frauen sind nach dem 4. Jh. selten.⁵⁰

Trotz des bruchstückhaften Textes erkennt man, daß die Bittschrift dem in römischer und byzantinischer Zeit üblichen Aufbau folgt:⁵¹ in Z. 2-3 steht die *inscriptio*, in der Adressat und Absender genannt sind; danach dürfte von Z. 4-5 (oder 6) das *exordium* mit dem toposhaften Lob der Tugenden des Adressaten gestanden sein, gefolgt von der *narratio* des Klagegrundes (Z. 6 oder 7-13); vor der Formulierung der Bitte (*preces*) bricht der Text ab. Bemerkenswert ist das gleichsam als Überschrift vorangestellte ἀξιωματικόν, das vom üblichen Schema abweicht.⁵² Es ist unsicher, ob die Überschrift nur aus einem Wort bestand oder dieses exakt zentriert war. Eine vergleichbare Überschrift läßt sich in den bei Jean-Luc Fournet und Jean Gascoü verzeichneten 118 Petitionen aus dem byzantinischen Ägypten nicht finden.⁵³ Die Überschrift,

⁵⁰ Nach R.S. Bagnall, “Women’s Petitions in Late Antique Egypt,” in D. Feissel und J. Gascoü (hrsg.), *La pétition à Byzance* (Paris 2004) 53-60, stammen nach 400 nur noch 11 Prozent der Petitionen von Frauen; Ende 3./Anfang 4. Jh. waren es noch 30 Prozent. Zu den Petitionen von Frauen generell s. J. Beaucamp, *Le statut de la femme à Byzance (4^e-7^e siècle) 2. Les pratiques sociales* (Paris 1992) 46-49.

⁵¹ T. Hauken, “Structure and Themes in Petitions to Roman Emperors,” in Feissel und Gascoü (Anm. 50) 11-18.

⁵² Normalerweise steht in byzantinischen Petitionen zuerst der Name des Adressaten, danach folgt: δέσποινι καὶ ἰκεσία παρὰ und der Name des Bittstellers, Προῶμιον etc.; s. J. Gascoü, “Les pétitions privées,” in Feissel und Gascoü (Anm. 50) 93-103, bes. S. 94, Anm. 9. Vgl. generell A.B. Kovelman, “From *Logos* to Myth: Egyptian Petitions of the 5th-7th Centuries,” *BASP* 28 (1991) 135-152, und J.-L. Fournet, “Entre document et littérature. La pétition dans l’antiquité tardive,” in Feissel und Gascoü (Anm. 50) 60-74 (bes. zu den Προῶμιον).

⁵³ J.-L. Fournet und J. Gascoü, “Liste des pétitions sur papyrus des V^e-VII^e siècles,” in Feissel und Gascoü (Anm. 50) 142-196. Ein vages Vergleichsbeispiel ist die an ei-

die wegen des engen Zeilenabstandes vielleicht nachträglich eingefügt wurde, gibt zu denken, ob man hier nicht einen Mustertext oder Entwurf vor sich hat. Das Aufscheinen konkreter Personennamen (Antiochia und Satorneilos) spricht gegen eine Schreibervorlage; das Fehlen von Elementen, die für eine gültige Urkunde nötig wären – wie eine Statusangabe (Aurelia) und ein Vatersnamen der Petentin – spricht für eine solche.⁵⁴ Eine andere Möglichkeit wäre, daß die erste Zeile den Text als Abschrift kennzeichnete (also z.B. ἀξιώ[σεως ἀντίγραφον]), doch wäre die umgekehrte Wortfolge zu erwarten.⁵⁵ Über den Inhalt geben die erhaltenen Worte wenig preis. Es dürfte um den Unterhalt und das Wohnrecht der Antiochia und ihres minderjährigen Sohnes gehen sowie um tätliche Angriffe und Beschimpfungen, denen die Bittsteller ausgesetzt waren. Das Vokabular (ἐπικουρεῖν, θρασύς, λοιδορησάμενος) zeigt eine gehobene Sprachebene, wie sie häufig in Bittschriften anzutreffen ist.

1 ἀξιώ[σις: In der Spätantike der übliche Terminus für “Gesuch, Antrag.” Das alternative ἀξίωμα, das in ptolemäischer Zeit gleichfalls “Gesuch” heißen konnte, hat spätestens seit dem 4. Jh. n. Chr. nur noch die Bedeutung “Rang,” “Würde,” vgl. etwa *P.Oxy.* 9.1204.16 (299); *P.Sakaon* 30.8 (Thead., 307-324); *P.Oxy.* 10.1265.14 (336); *P.Ammon* 1.3.3.15 (348). Es kommt daher für eine Ergänzung hier nicht in Frage.

3 Ἀντιοχίας: Der weibliche Personennamen Ἀντιοχία oder Ἀντιόχεια begegnet in den Papyri selten und erst in spätrömischer Zeit: *PSI* 12.1249.13-14 (*Oxy.*, 265); *P.Stras.* 4.261.4 (*Oxy.*, 296) und dieselbe Person in *P.Oxy.* 1.102.3 und 24 (*Oxy.*, 306); *P.Oxy.* 14.1682.1 und 19 (*Oxy.*, 4. Jh.); *P.Got.* 14.11 (Herk. unbek., 7. Jh.). Dieser Befund deckt sich mit der Evidenz der Inschriften, die P.M. Fraser und E. Matthews, *LGPN* 1, 2A und 4 verzeichnen: *IG* 14.74 (Syrakus, 3./4. Jh.); Beševliev 115.5 (Odessa, 5./6. Jh.); *IC* 2, S. 270, Nr. 2 (Rethym-

nen *dux* (?) gerichtete Petition *PSI* 7.800 (Herk. unbek., 6. Jh.), die beginnt: σὺν θεῷ παρακλητικῇ ἰκετη[ρ]ία προσε[ν]εχθεῖσα τῷ ἐνδοξῷ[τ]άτῳ καὶ εὐκλεε[σ]τάτῳ δοικί (?). Kein vergleichbarer Fall ist *P.Cair.Masp.* 1.67006 (Antin., 566-570), das Z. 1-2 nur scheinbar mit † δέσ[ι]ς καὶ ἰκεσί[α] κτλ. beginnt; davor ist am Kopf der Urkunde freier Platz für den Namen des Adressaten gelassen.

⁵⁴ Mustertexte für Bittschriften liegen wahrscheinlich in *SB* 4.7350 (Herm.?, Ende 3./Anf. 4. Jh.) und *P.Münch.* 3.79 (Herk. unbek., 6./7. Jh.) vor.

⁵⁵ Ein – allerdings wesentlich früher datiertes – Beispiel ließe sich in *P.Wisc.* 1.35.1 (Thead., 144) beibringen: ἀντίγραφον ἀξιώσεως; danach folgen die Namen des Adressaten und des Petenten. Ein späteres Beispiel liegt nur in *SB* 20.14606 = *P.Leid.* Z. (Philae od. Eleph., 425-430) vor: die Abschrift der griechischen Petition des Bischofs Appion an Kaiser Theodosius II. ist in Z. 1b lateinisch überschrieben *exemp[l]um prec[u]m*.

non, byz.). Hinzu kommt SB 1.5940.1, ein undatierter Grabstein aus Ptolemais in der Kyrenaika.

ιδία[: Man erwartet den Vatersnamen, doch die einzige (unsichere) Parallele wäre Ἰδιο[μ]άχω (?) in *P.Tebt.* 2.333.17 (216) mit *BL* 9:356. Man denkt daher eher an eine Wendung wie ἰδίᾳ [χειρί, doch auch der gehen stets Vatersname und Herkunftsangabe voraus, und fast immer lautet die Floskel ἐξῆς ὑπογράφων ἰδίᾳ χειρί.

4 πᾶσι τοῖς ἀδικουμένοις: Dies ist Teil einer formelhaften Wendung, mit welcher Bittsteller im *exordium* den Adressaten (meist einen Statthalter) als Helfer all jener ansprechen, die Unrecht erleiden. Eine Konstruktion mit dem Dativ (wie hier) findet sich beispielsweise in *P.Cair.Masp.* 1.67008.7-8 (Antin., 567/8): [εὐεργέτ]ημα [μέγιστον] πρόκει[τ]αι πᾶσι τοῖ[ς] ἀδικουμένοις ἢ τῆς ὑμῶν πανε[υφ]ήμου | [ὑπερφυ]ῖας ἐκδ[ικία; dieselbe Formel steht auch in *P.Cair.Masp.* 3.67279.4 (Aphrod., 569-570). Vergleichbare Wendungen werden auch mit dem Akkusativ konstruiert; vgl. etwa *CPR* 7.15.2-4 (Herm., 330?): πά[σ]ῃ εὐμενίᾳ, δέσποτα ἡγεμῶν, | [τὸ μεγαλειόν σου εὐεργ]ετεῖ τοὺς ἀδικουμένους κτλ., oder *P.Sakaon* 40.4-5 (Thead., 318-320): τοὺς ἀδικουμένους | ὀρφανο[ύς], ἡγεμῶν δέσποτα, ἐκδικεῖν εἴωθεν τὸ μεγαλειόν τὸ σόν.

5 ἐπικουρεῖν: Das Wort begegnet selten in den Papyri und hat zumeist die Bedeutung "liefern," z.B. Saatgut an die Bauern: *P.Oxy.* 12.1407.6 (Herk. unbek., Ende 3. Jh.) und 14.1630.5 (Oxy., 222 oder 226). Im vorliegenden Kontext (vgl. νηπίω υἱῷ, Z. 6) erwartet man eher die Bedeutung "helfen, versorgen," vielleicht auch spezieller "Unterhalt gewähren." Eine vergleichbare Bedeutung hat ἐπικουρεῖν in der Petition *P.Oxy.* 54.3770.6-7 (Oxy., 334), wo die Beschwerde lautet: οὔτε τῷ παιδί | τὰς τροφὰς οὔτε τῇ γυναικὶ ἑαυτοῦ ἐ[π]εχοῦρησεν. Vgl. auch das - -] ο[υ]κ ἔχων ἐπικουρίαν in dem Entwurf einer Bittschrift *P.Köln* 4.191.1 (Herk. unbek., 5./6. Jh.).

μήτι γε: vgl. *P.Lips.* 1.40.5 (Herm., 4./5. Jh.): οὐκ ἀνέρχονται παρ' ἡμῖν ἡμεραίας μήτι γε νυκτός.

6 νφ μου νηπίω υἱῷ: Am Zeilenanfang ist -νφ wohl die Endung eines weiteren auf υἱῷ bezogenen Adjektivs, das die bedauernswerte Lage beschreiben soll; vgl. etwa die Bittschriften *P.Lond.* 5.1677.29 (Antin., 568-570): τοὺς νηπίο(υ)ς τούτου ταλαιπώρο(υ)ς | [καὶ ἀφήλικας υἱο(ὺ)ς, oder *P.Cair.Masp.* 2.67151.211-212 (Antin., 570): τοῖς νηπίοις μου καὶ ἀφ[η]λίζι υἱοῖς μου.

7 εἶχον πρὸς οἰκησ[ιν]: Die Wendung πρὸς οἰκησιν ist Teil der Formel πρὸς οἰκησιν μου καὶ χρήσιν, die in den Mietverträgen der byzantinischen Zeit häufig ist. In der Verbindung mit ἔχω begegnet sie auch in der Eingabe an den Strategen *P.Oxy.* 1.76.13-15 (Oxy., 179): ὅπου σὺν τῷ ἀνδρὶ καταμένω, καὶ |

ἔχων ὑφ' ἑαυτὸν πρὸς οἴκησιν | [εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν χρεῖαν] τόπους τρεῖς κτλ. Auch diese Petition stammt von einer Frau.

8 Σατορνειλ[: Satorneilos oder Satorneila, doch beide Namen sind nach dem 3. Jh. selten: *P.Abinn.* 10.33 (Ars., 342-351); *SB* 14.12088.34 (Oxy., 346); *PSI* 3.194.1 (Oxy., 566?); *P.Oxy.* 16.1912.3.49, 55 (6. Jh.).

9 θρασύς: Das Wort ist in den Papyri erst zweimal begegnet: in der amtlichen Korrespondenz *P.Panop.Beatty* 2.105-106 (Panop., 300): ... τοὺς δὲ ἀνθισταμένους καὶ θρα|σύτερους κτλ., und in der Eingabe an den *dux Aegypti* *P.Oxy.* 63.4381.5 (Alex., 375): τινὲς βίαιοι καὶ θρασεῖς καὶ τῶν νόμων ἀφροντιστοῦντες κτλ. (Anfang der *narratio*).

ἐπε[: Vielleicht eine infinite Form von ἐπέρχομαι.

12 καὶ πληγὰς μοι ἀν[: "Schläge" sind neben "Hybris" häufig Grund von Beschwerden, wie sie besonders ausführlich z.B. in *M.Chr.* 125.8-12 (Ars., 98-117) formuliert sind: ἀλλ' ἔτι | καὶ ἐπήλθοσάν μοι καὶ ὕβριν οὐ τὴν | τυχοῦσαν συνετελέσαντο καὶ πληγὰς | ἐπή[νε]γκαν κτλ. Dabei wird πληγὰς zumeist mit den Verben ἐπιφέρω oder ἐπιτίθημι konstruiert. Eine Parallele für die Verbindung mit einem auf αν- beginnenden Verbum läßt sich nicht beibringen, und αἰκ[ίζω bzw. αἰκ[ίζομαι (vgl. B. McGing, *P.Dubl.* 18, Komm. zu Z. 12 mit Belegen vom 1.-4. Jh.) ist paläographisch unmöglich und würde zudem den Dativ verlangen.

2. *P.Vindob. G 10851: Übung formelhafter Textteile*

Herakleopolites

15.1 x 8.2 cm

nach 439 n. Chr.

Das dunkelbraune Papyrusblatt ist oben, an der rechten Seite und unten unregelmäßig abgerissen. Links ist der originale Rand erhalten, wenngleich durch viele kleine Ausbrüche beschädigt. Beschriftung entlang der Faserrichtung, wobei die Zeilenabstände unregelmäßig sind. Auch die Anfänge der Zeilen stehen nicht senkrecht untereinander, sondern rücken mit fortschreitenden Zeilen immer näher an den Rand heran. Über der ersten Zeile ist die obere Lage des Papyrus verloren, weshalb unsicher bleibt, ob eine weitere Zeile voranging. Beschriftung in schwarzer Tinte. Das Verso ist leer.

Φλ(αοῖω) Φλαουια[νῶ

Φλαουιανῶ τῶ μεγ[αλοπρεπεστάτῳ

τάγματος τῶν θ[είων

κόμετι πρώτου]

ἀπὸ]

- 4 πραιτωρος ἀδ[ε]λ[φ]
 Παχών ς ἐν Ἡ[ρ]α[κ]λ[έ]ους πόλει. μετὰ τὴν ὑπατείαν τοῦ δεσπότη
 ἡμῶν Θεοδοσίου τοῦ αἰωνίου Αὐγούστου
 τοῦ λαμπροτάτου ἀπὸ ε() τὸ ιζ καὶ [
 8 π(αρά) Θέωνος Ἀπίων[ος
 π(αρά) [.] . [

“[– – –] an Flavius Flavianus [– – –] Flavianus, dem *magnificentissimus* [– – – *comes primi*] *ordinis* der kaiserlichen [– – – *ex*] *praetore*, Brüder [– – –] Pachon 6, in Herakleopolis [– – – Nach dem Konsulat unseres Herrn] Theodosius [allzeit Augustus – – –] des *clarissimus ex* [– – –] zum 17. Mal und [– – –] von Theon, Sohn des Apion [– – –] von [– – –].”

Das Papyrusblatt enthält Übungen im sog. Schreibstil des Herakleopolites (s.o. Anm. 3), der besonders im 5. und 6. Jh. gepflegt wurde. Gegenstand der Übungen sind Name und Titeln des Flavianus I. und seines Bruders (Z. 4) Ptolemaeus, sowie eine Konsuldatierung und Formelteile aus dem *incipit* von Rechtsurkunden (Z. 5). Das Titel-Element τῶν θ[ε]ίων (Z. 3) verweist durch den Plural auf ein palatines Amt, das bislang für Flavianus noch nicht belegt war. Wenn die unten im Kommentar geäußerte Vermutung bezüglich der *comitiva sacrarum largitionum* zutrifft, dann könnte man für Z. 2–4 an folgende Ergänzung denken: Φλαουιανῷ τῷ μεγ[αλοπρεπεστάτῳ καὶ περιβλέπτῳ κόμετι πρώτου] | τάγματος τῶν θ[ε]ίων λαργιτιόνων καὶ (Φλ.) Πτολεμαίῳ τῷ λαμπροτάτῳ ἀπὸ | πραιτωρος ἀδ[ε]λ[φ]οῖς γεούχοις ἐν τῷ Ἡρακλεοπολίτῃ]. Dies würde auf dieselbe Zeilenlänge führen wie das Postkonsulat in Z. 5–6. Ein *comes sacrarum largitionum* namens Fl. Flavianus war bislang auch aus anderen Quellen nicht bekannt.⁵⁶

1 Für die Ergänzung im Dativ spricht die Verwendung dieses Casus in Z. 2 und in anderen Schreibübungen, z.B. *P.Rain.Unterricht* 95.33, 36 sowie 96.6.

2 μεγ[αλοπρεπεστάτῳ]: In Hinblick auf die Länge der Ergänzung in Z. 5–6 wäre nach μεγ[αλοπρεπεστάτῳ] noch Platz für ein zweites Rangprädikat,

⁵⁶ R. Delmaire, *Largesses sacrées et res privata. L'aerarium impérial et son administration du IV^e au VI^e siècle* (Roma 1989) und ders. (Anm. 40) verzeichnet keinen Amtsträger, der mit Flavianus zu identifizieren wäre. Die Fasten (S. 302–303) weisen in den 40er und 50er Jahren des 5. Jh. aber noch genug Lücken auf, in denen er unterzubringen wäre.

wohl περίβλεπτος, das gleichfalls die zweite senatorische Rangklasse bezeichnet.

2-3 κόμετι πρώτου] | τάγματος: Die Angabe des *ordo* bezieht sich auf die Abstufung der *comitiva* in eine *primi*, *secundi* und *tertii ordinis* (s. Anm. 44-45). In den Papyri wird nur der *primus ordo* explizit erwähnt, so daß die Ergänzung von κόμετι πρώτου am Ende der Z. 2 gesichert erscheint. Flavianus I. führt diesen Titel auch in CPR 24.8.1, wird dort aber als ἀποκόμης (*ex comite*) bezeichnet. Da er in CPR 24.8 lediglich *clarissimus*, hier aber bereits *spectabilis* ist und 2 daher nach CPR 24.8 datiert, könnte auch hier ἀποκόμετι zu ergänzen sein. Aber im Normalfall werden Rangtitel (anders als Amtstitel) nicht mit *ex* versehen.

3 τῶν θ[είων: Durch den Plural ist klar, daß der Titel hier nicht πρώτου τάγματος τοῦ θείου κονσιςτωρίου lautete wie in CPR 24.8.1 – es sei denn, man sollte einen gravierenden Schreibfehler postulieren. Als Ergänzungsmöglichkeiten scheint sich zunächst τῶν θείων ὁφικίων anzubieten, ein Element in der Titulatur des *magister officiorum*. Ein solcher hochrangiger Hofbeamte tritt in den Papyri bislang nur als Konsul in der Datierungsformel von BGU 12.2141.3 (Fl. Nomus, *cos.* 445) auf. Das Titelement begegnet jedoch auch bei den *agentes in rebus*, die dem *magister officiorum* unterstellt waren und in etlichen Papyri als μαγιστριανοὶ τῶν θείων ὁφικίων aufscheinen; vgl. etwa CPR 6.6.3 (Herm., 439) und SPP 20.121.3 (Herm., 439); CPR 10.39.4 (Herakl., 443); *P.Rain.Cent.* 108.3 (Herakl., 484-486). Durch CJ 12.21.6 vom Jahre 443/4 wurde den *principes* der *agentes in rebus* die *comitiva primi ordinis* verliehen, so daß diese Kombination theoretisch auch hier vorliegen könnte. In Hinblick auf seine Karriere kommt für Flavianus aber eine Offiziersstelle bei den *agentes* kaum in Frage. Da τῶν θ[είων unmittelbar auf τάγματος folgt, war *comes* wohl als gemeinsames Titelement vorangestellt (wie in CPR 24.8.1): *comes primi ordinis* und (*comes*) *xy*. Die Kombination von *comes* und *sacra* (Plural) gibt es nur im Titel des *comes sacrarum largitionum*. Dieser palatine Amtsträger ist bislang nur in einem einzigen Papyrus genannt: der fragmentarischen Anordnung *P.Mich.* 3.160.1-2 (Herk. unbek., 404/5 oder 419/20), zu verwenden in der Neuedition von J. Gascou, “Un document sur la fiscalité des Largesses au début di V^e siècle,” *ZPE* 149 (2004) 153-156: προστάγματος τοῦ μεγαλοπρεπ[εστάτου (...)? καὶ ἐνδοξοτάτου κόμιτος] | τῶν ἀπανταχοῦ θείων λαργι[τιόνων ---]. Als zweites Rangprädikat käme zumindest in 2 περίβλεπτος in Frage, s.o. Komm. zu Z. 2. Die Formulierung des Titels in Anlehnung an CPR 24.8.1 schließt aus, daß an der vorliegenden Stelle das *magisterium officiorum* angeführt war, weil der doppelte Bezug nur bei *comes* gegeben ist, nicht aber bei *magister*. Außer Betracht bleiben darf ein hybrid formulierter Titel wie jener des Ἀνδρέας ὁ περίβλεπτος σκρινιαριῆς (l. σκρινιάρης) τῶν θείων σακρῶν in PSI 5.481.13

(Herk. unbek., 7. Jh.). Abgesehen von der Unsinnigkeit der Formulierung τῶν θεῶν σακρῶν rangiert ein σκρινιάριος (“Buchhalter”) weit unter der Ebene des Flavianus.

3-4 ἀπό | πραιτωρος: Wegen ἀδ[ε]λ[φ] in der folgenden Z. 4 dürfte der Titel sich auf Ptolemaeus bezogen haben, der ihn auch in *P.Rain.Unterricht* 96 führt.

4 ἀδ[ε]λ[φ]: Wahrscheinlich ἀδ[ε]λ[φ]οῖς γεουχοῦσιν für beide Brüder, denn wo die Bezeichnung ausgeschrieben bzw. vollständig erhalten ist, steht sie im Plural: *P.Rain.Unterricht* 96 und 3.

5 Παχὼν ς ἐν Ἡ[ρ]α[κ]λ[έ]ους πόλει: Ein Tagesdatum, gefolgt von der Angabe des Errichtungsortes, wird auch in *P.Rain.Unterricht* 95.22 geübt.

6 ἡμῶν Θεοδοσίου: Ein Postkonsulat des Theodosius (τὸ ιγ = cos. 430) wird auch in *P.Rain.Unterricht* 95.21-22 geübt. Ein weiteres Postkonsulat des Theodosius (τὸ ιζ = cos. 439) – allerdings mit einem fiktiven Kollegen Φλ. Μαξιμίνου τραπεζ(ι) – erscheint in *P.Rain.Unterricht* 61.1-2. Diese Parallelen legen nahe, auch an der vorliegenden Stelle ein Postkonsulat des Theodosius zu ergänzen. Am Ende von Z. 6 erwartet man den Namen des zweiten Konsul (Fl. Anatolius), auf den τοῦ λαμ(προτάτου) ἀπὸ ἐ(πάρχων?) in Z. 7 zu beziehen wäre. Die danach stehende Iterationszahl τὸ ιζ müßte sich jedoch wieder auf Theodosius beziehen, der 439 das Konsulat zum 17. Mal bekleidete. Dies ist der *terminus post quem* für die Entstehung der vorliegenden Schreibübung.

7 λαμ(προτάτου): Dieselbe Kürzungsweise, die von der gängigen Kürzung nach Rho abweicht, steht auch in *P.Rain.Unterricht* 96.1 und 103.9 (mit *BL* 10:131).

ἀπὸ ε(ι) τὸ ιζ καὶ [: Vielleicht ἀπὸ ἐ(πάρχων); vgl. ὁ λαμπρότατος ἀπὸ ἡγεμόνος in *P.Rain.Unterricht* 95.14. Aber die Lesung nach ἀπὸ ist problematisch. Paläographisch wäre auch ἀπὸ ἐποι(κίου) möglich, doch das auffallend geformte Gebilde, das dann als Kürzungsstrich aufzufassen wäre, ist besser als ζ zu lesen; vgl. das Zeta in *P.Rain.Unterricht* 61.2: τὸ ιζ.

8-9 π(αρά) gefolgt von Name und Vatersname: Eine solche Namensliste findet sich auch auf *P.Rain.Unterricht* 63.r. Dort ist es jedoch keine Übung, sondern der primäre Text der Buchhaltung, dessen Blatt danach für Schreibübungen verwendet wurde. Beim vorliegenden Blatt sieht es nach der Anordnung eher so aus, als wäre auch die Namensliste ein Teil der Schreibübung. In beiden Texten stammen sowohl Namensliste als auch Übungstext wahrscheinlich von derselben Hand.

3. *P.Vindob. G. 35278a: Übung im Schreibstil*

Herakleopolites

9.6 x 11 cm

Mitte 5. Jh. n. Chr.

An allen Seiten unregelmäßig abgerissenes Fragment eines mittelbraunen Papyrus feiner Qualität. Ein kleines Stück des linken Randes ist vor Z. 3 erhalten. Wahrscheinlich ist auch rechts der Rand erreicht. Einzelne Fasern der unteren Lage des Papyrus ragen oben und unten über den beschrifteten Teil hinaus. Beschriftung in schwarzer Tinte mit feinem Kalamos. Ein nicht dazugehöriges Fragment G 35278b enthält geringe Reste einer Abrechnung.

 [θείου κον]σιςτωρίου καὶ Πτολεμαίῳ [τῷ]
 [λαμπ]ρ[οτ]άτῳ ἀπὸ πραιτορος ἀδελφοῖς
 γεουχοῦσιν ἐν τῷ Ἡρακλεοπολί[τῃ]

Verso

4] . ἀπααλκο . ε

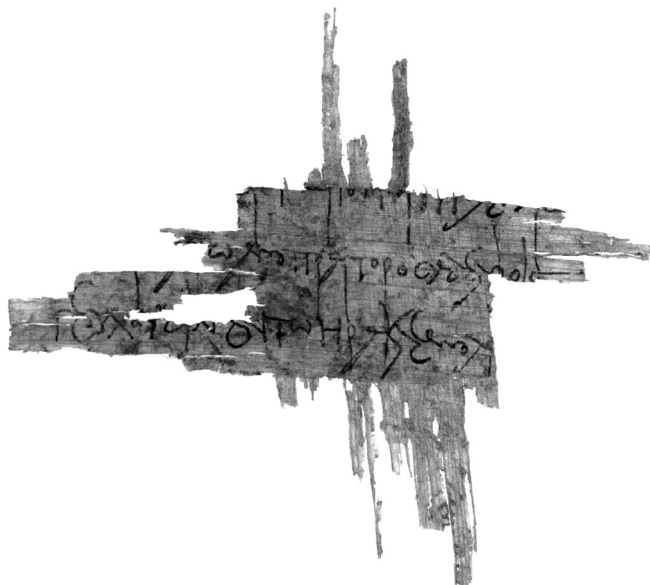
“[– – – *sacri*] *consistorii* und dem Ptolemaeus *vir clarissimus ex praetore*, Brüder, Grundbesitzer im Herakleopolites [– – –].”

Das Blatt ist in der zierlichen Handschrift verfaßt, die für die Übungstexte des Dossiers charakteristisch ist. Auch der stark beschädigte Zustand des Papyrus ist typisch für viele Texte des Konvolut; vgl. bes. *P.Rain. Unterricht* 61, 81, 95 und *CPR* 24.8. Es ist davon auszugehen, daß Flavianus im verlorenen Text über der Z. 1 genannt war.

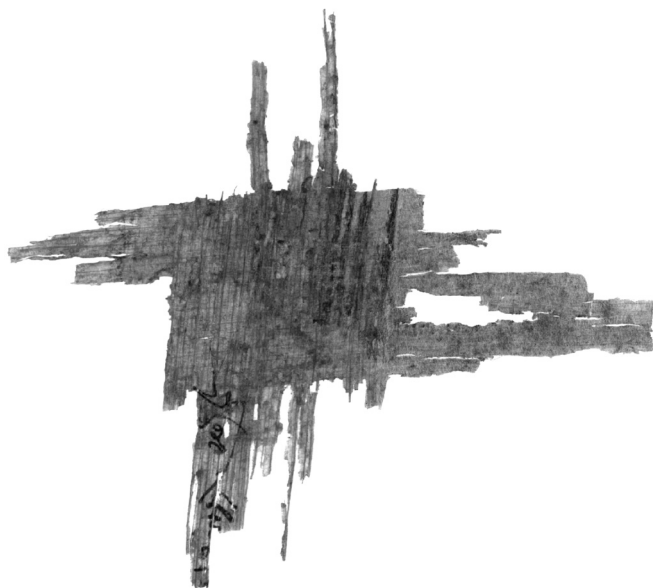
1 [θείου κον]σιςτωρίου: Diesen Titel führt Flavianus auch in *CPR* 24.8.1.

Πτολεμαίῳ: Vgl. den Schreibduktus in *P.Rain. Unterricht* 96.1.

4] . ἀπααλκο . ε: Die Auflösung bleibt problematisch. Vielleicht ein Name; vgl. Γεώργιος Ἀπααλι() in *SPP* 10.295.4 und 298.5 (Memphites, 7-8. Jh.); oder eine Maßeinheit, etwa] . ἀπα ἀλ(λ-) κόλ(ιβα) ε?



recto



verso

Child or Monk? An Unpublished Story Attributed to John Moschos in MS Coislin 257

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Abstract

This article presents an as yet unpublished edifying tale from the 11th-century manuscript Coislin 257 of the Bibliothèque nationale de France, which contains among other works a collection of stories from the *Spiritual Meadow* by John Moschos. To illustrate the monastic virtues of humility and obedience, the tale uses the motif of the separation between parents and their child, albeit in an unusual way, since contrary to most early monastic accounts, it is the child who finds the strength to break with its parents. The text also reflects the practice of transferring the legal authority over a child from the parents to the monastic community, which in the late sixth century was becoming widespread enough to be officially regulated.

The manuscript Coislin 257 of the Bibliothèque nationale de France (of the 11th century) contains one of several collections of edifying tales attributed to John Moschos. These collections are never identical, and some manuscripts contain stories that seem unique. This is the case with a short text found on foll. 76v-77r of this manuscript, which has not been included in the extant edition of John Moschos' *Spiritual Meadow* or in the supplementary material published since.¹ It is inventoried in the *Bibliotheca hagiographica graeca* (BHG)

¹ The text used today is still the one in PG 87.2851-3116; several additional tales were published by E. Mioni, "Il Pratum Spirituale di Giovanni Mosco: Gli episodi inediti del Cod. Marciano greco II.21," *OCP* 17 (1951) 61-94, and by Th. Nissen, "Unbekannte Erzählungen aus dem Pratum Spirituale," *BZ* 38 (1938) 351-76. These are all translated in J. Wortley, *John Moschos, The Spiritual Meadow (Pratum Spirituale)* (Kalamazoo 1992). For an introduction to John Moschos and his collection, see H. Chadwick, "John

under number 1440x with the title “De puero monacho,” and an English summary is given by John Wortley in his online *Repertoire of Byzantine Beneficial Tales*.² Despite its brevity and simplicity, it raises some interesting questions and deserves to be dug out of its hiding place.

Παῖς τις ἐδόθη εἰς κοινόβιον ὑπὸ τῶν γονέων αὐτοῦ. Καὶ μετ’ ὀλίγον ἦλθον οἱ γονεῖς αὐτοῦ ἰδεῖν αὐτόν. Καὶ λέγουσιν τῷ ἀββᾷ· κέλευσον ἵνα ἔλθῃ ὁ μικρὸς καὶ ἴδωμεν αὐτόν. Ὁ δὲ γέρων εἶπεν τινὰ τῶν ἀδελφῶν καλέσαι τὸν μικρόν. Ὡς δὲ ἤγγισεν τῷ ἀββᾷ, λέγει αὐτῷ· τίς σε ἐκάλεσεν; Καὶ δίδωσιν αὐτῷ κόσσον, λέγων· ὕπαγε εἰς τὸ κελλίον σου. Ἐθλίβησαν δὲ οἱ γονεῖς αὐτοῦ, καὶ πάλιν μετ’ ὀλίγον λέγουσιν τῷ ἀββᾷ· κέλεύσεις ἵνα ἔλθῃ ὁ μικρὸς καὶ ἴδωμεν αὐτόν. Καὶ καλέσας ὁ ἀββᾶς ἀδελφόν, λέγει αὐτῷ· κάλεσον τὸν μικρόν. Ὡς δὲ πάλιν ἐπλησίασεν τῷ γέροντι, δίδει αὐτῷ κόσσον, λέγων· τίς σε ἐκάλεσεν; ὕπαγε εἰς τὸ κελλίον σου. Πάλιν δὲ ἐθλίβησαν οἱ γονεῖς αὐτοῦ, λέγοντες καθ’ ἑαυτούς· εἴθε μὴ ἦλθωμεν ὧδε. Μετ’ ὀλίγον δὲ ὑπὸ τῆς φύσεως κινούμενοι λέγουσιν τῷ ἀββᾷ· κέλεύσεις ἔλθῃ ὁ μικρὸς. Καὶ εἶπεν ἀδελφῷ· κάλεσον αὐτόν. Ὡς δὲ πάλιν ἐπλησίασεν τῷ γέροντι, δίδωσιν αὐτῷ κόσσον, καὶ λέγει αὐτῷ· τίς σε ἐκάλεσεν; ὕπαγε εἰς τὸ κελλίον σου. Καὶ ὥς ἀπῆλθεν ὀλίγον, ἐκάλεσεν αὐτόν ὁ ἀββᾶς καὶ κρατήσας αὐτοῦ τῆς χειρὸς ἔδωκεν αὐτόν τοῖς γονεῦσιν αὐτοῦ, λέγων· ἰδοὺ, γέγονεν ὁ υἱὸς ὑμῶν μοναχός. Τότε οἱ γονεῖς αὐτοῦ οἰκοδομηθέντες νῦχαρίστησαν τῷ θεῷ ἐπὶ τῇ προκοπῇ τοῦ νεωτέρου καὶ τῇ μαρτυρίᾳ τοῦ ἀββᾶ. Εὐζώμεθα καὶ ἡμεῖς φθάσαι εἰς τοιαύτην ταπείνωσιν.

4 ἤγγισεν: ἤγγησεν cod. 6, 10 γονεῖς: γωνεῖς cod. 12 κινούμενοι: κηνούμενοι cod. 16 γονεῦσιν: γωνεῦσιν cod.

A child was given to a community by his parents. After some time, the parents came to see him. And they said to the abba, “Give orders for the little one to come, that we may see him.” The elder told one of the brothers, “Call the little one!” When he approached the abba, he told him, “Who called you?” And he gave him a slap, saying, “Go to your cell!” His parents were saddened, and after a while they again told the abba, “Give orders for the little one to come, that we may see him.” And the abba called a monk and told him, “Call the little one!”

Moschus and his Friend Sophronius the Sophist,” *JThS* 25 (1974) 41–74, and the introduction to Wortley’s translation.

² See <http://home.cc.umanitoba.ca/~wortley/main900-999.html>, no. W923.

But as he approached the elder again, he gave him a slap, saying, “Who called you? Go to your cell!” Once again, his parents were saddened, saying to themselves, “We wish we had not come here.” But after a while, driven by nature, they told the abba, “Give orders for the little one to come.” And he told a brother, “Call him!” But as he approached the elder again, he gave him a slap and said to him, “Who called you? Go to your cell!” And as he departed a little, the abba called him, and holding him by the hand, he gave him to his parents, saying, “Here, your son has become a monk.” Thereupon his edified parents thanked God for the achievement of the young one and the testimony of the abba. Let us pray that we might also attain to such humility.

The text conforms admirably to the model of the “tale beneficial to the soul” (διήγημα ψυχωφέλες), which reproduces the narration-cum-moral structure of the fable. In the monastic world those tales were used to illustrate various monastic virtues, in this case explicitly humility (ταπείνωσις), but also secondarily obedience (ὕπακοή), self-mastery (ἐγκράτεια), and the elimination of “worldly” feelings (ἀπάθεια). These are among the most highly valued in monastic literature.

The trope found here of the unexplained and unfair, yet uncontested punishment is a classic *topos* used to exemplify humility. Being a monk is thus constructed as finding the inner force to resist anger and indignation at what mainstream social norms would regard as forms of injustice. It also entails, in this model, total submission to the will and orders of a figure who holds unquestioned spiritual authority.

The punishment through which this submission and humility are made manifest is described by the word κόσσος, used repeatedly in the text to describe the slap given to the boy by the abba. The term is rare enough to be glossed both in Latin and in Greek by the Pseudo-Zonaras, whose definition for κόσσος reads: ῥωμαῖστί μαζίλλα, γραικιστί δὲ ῥάπισμα.³ In the Suda it simply appears as τὸ ῥάπισμα.⁴ Outside the two lexica the term only appears in Palladios,⁵ and in a number of sixth- and early seventh-century texts by authors who had certainly read Palladios, but must also have known each other’s works. Unsurprisingly we find in this group Leontios of Neapolis, who uses it

³ Pseudo-Zonaras, *Lexicon* 1234, in J.A.H. Tittmann, *Iohannis Zonarae lexicon ex tribus codicibus manuscriptis*, vol. 2 (Leipzig 1808) 1234.

⁴ Suda, K 2149, in A. Adler, *Suidae lexicon*, vol. 3 (Leipzig 1933) 164.

⁵ Palladios, *Lausiaca History* 23.5, in G.J.M. Bartelink, *Palladio, La storia lausiaca* (Verona 1974) 130: an Ethiopian woman comes to tempt Apa Pachon, who later recounts, ἀπομανεῖς οὖν ἔδωκα αὐτῇ κόσσον καὶ γέγονεν ἄφαντος.

both in the *Life of Symeon the Fool*⁶ and in the *Life of John the Almsgiver*.⁷ John Moschos, who had also written a *Life of John the Almsgiver* with Sophronios of Jerusalem, uses the verb κοσσιζω,⁸ also found in Palladios.⁹

The term also surfaces in monastic texts from Gaza, once in the correspondence of Barsanuphios and John in the context of the relations between master and slave, used as a metaphor for those between spiritual guide and disciple.¹⁰ The closest parallel to the Coislin 257 text, however, is to be found in the *Life of Dositheos*, attributed to his teacher Dorotheos but written by another of his disciples. It is worth quoting in full:¹¹

Another time, he came to question <Dorotheos> concerning a passage of the Holy Scripture. Indeed, he was beginning to understand some of the Scripture because of his purity. Dorotheos did not yet want him to study those things, but rather to be guarded through humility. So when he asked him, he told him, "I don't know." Dositheos understood nothing, and came back with a question about another chapter. So he told him, "I don't know, but go, ask the abba." Dositheos went, having seen nothing. But Dorotheos had told the abba beforehand, unbeknown to him, "If Dositheos comes to find you so as to question you on something scriptural, correct and belittle him." So when he went and asked him, he started correcting him and saying, "Won't you stay put, you who know nothing? You dare ask things like that, and do not worry about your impurity?" And having told him several things to the same effect, he dismissed him, having also given him two slaps (κόσσους). He returned to the abba Dorotheos showing him his

⁶ Leontios of Neapolis, *Life of Symeon the Fool*, in A.-J. Festugière and L. Rydén, *Léontios de Néapolis, Vie de Syméon le Fou et Vie de Jean de Chypre* (Paris 1974) 87.10 and 90.18; transl. in D. Krueger, *Symeon the Holy Fool: Leontius's Life and the Late Antique City* (Berkeley 1996) 153 and 156.

⁷ Leontios of Neapolis, *Life of John the Almsgiver* 38, in Festugière and Rydén (n. 6) 389-391.

⁸ John Moschos, *The Spiritual Meadow* 105, PG 87.2964.

⁹ Palladios, *Lausiac History* 21.17, in Bartelink (n. 5) 116, where Eulogios tells a story about Anthony, who was fighting against souls flying like birds around him: ὅσαι δὲ παρὰ τῶν χειρῶν αὐτοῦ ἐκοσσιζοντο ἐνέπιπτον εἰς τὴν λίμνην, we are told.

¹⁰ Barsanuphios and John of Gaza, *Questions and answers* 93, in F. Neyt and P. de Angelis-Noah, *Barsanuphe et Jean de Gaza, Correspondance*, 1.2 (Paris 1998) 394: ἀντὶ τοῦ δοῦναι αὐτῷ καθ' ἡμέραν ἓνα κόσσον λέγων αὐτῷ τὰ σφάλματα αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἰδοὺ εἰρήνη, μακροθυμεῖς πολλὰς ἡμέρας.

¹¹ *Life of Dositheos* 12, in L. Regnault and J. de Préville, *Dorothee de Gaza. Œuvres spirituelles* (Paris 1963) 142.

cheeks still red from the slaps, and said, "Got them, and solid!" And he did not ask him, "Why did you not correct me <yourself> but sent me to the abba?" He said nothing of the sort, but accepted everything from him with faith and accomplished it unquestioningly. And when he questioned him concerning a thought, he accepted what he heard with such satisfaction and observed it so well that he never had to come back on the same thought.

This is a more sophisticated tale than the one in the Moschos collection, incorporating as it does some reflection on the master-disciple relationship, as well as on the relation between humility and knowledge. However, the resonance between the two texts is striking, if not very surprising. Indeed, Moschos was familiar with the monastic groups at Gaza, which were offshoots of Sketiote monasticism and had kept close links with it.¹² He tells the story of Eirenaïos, who left Skete for "the laura" in Gaza. There he received a βιβλίον γεροντικόν, a copy of the Sayings of the Elders, which is likely to have included the work of Palladios.¹³ In another story, Moschos even explicitly mentions the community of Dorotheos (κοινόβιον τοῦ ἀββᾶ Δωροθέου, πλησίον Γάζης).¹⁴

The connection of this term with the monastic centres of Gaza is also indicated by its use in Leontios's *Life of John the Almsgiver*. It appears in the chapter concerning abba Vitalios, a monk in the monastery of Seridos in Gaza who comes to Alexandria to test John's judgement. He goes to see prostitutes and spends the night with them secretly trying to convert them, creating a scandal among those who imagine what they might when they see him. Κόσσος is repeated several times in the chapter, and takes on symbolic value. One night, abba Vitalios meets someone as he is leaving a prostitute's house.

As soon as he saw him, I mean abba Vitalios, coming out from the woman's house, he slapped him saying, "Until when, miserable deceiver of Christ, will you not give in to your impulses?" And <abba Vitalios> answered, "Believe me, you will receive a κόσσος, abject man, such that the whole of Alexandria will gather at your cries."

When abba Vitalios dies, a demon of Ethiopian aspect rises out of nowhere next to the man who had slapped the monk and slaps him, saying, "Receive the slap that abba Vitalios has sent to you." The story ends with the man's con-

¹² On monasticism in Gaza see now B. Bitton-Ashkelony and A. Kofsky, *The Monastic School of Gaza* (Leiden 2006).

¹³ John Moschos, *The Spiritual Meadow* 55, PG 87.2909.

¹⁴ John Moschos, *The Spiritual Meadow* 166, PG 87.3033.

version to the monastic life and his departure for the monastery of Seridos in Gaza, where he settles in the cell of abba Vitalios.¹⁵

Thus the use of κόσσος as well as the insistence on this specific form of humility clearly indicate that this text belongs to the wider circle of sixth- and early seventh-century monastic writing centred around Alexandria, Skete, Gaza, and Cyprus, and make its inclusion in the original collection of the *Spiritual Meadow* more than plausible.

Early monastic literature made use of another unmistakeable sign that one has achieved the monastic ideal, namely the strength to relinquish family bonds and to give the “love of God” priority over the love between parent and child. From the earliest narratives, the potent image of the mother leaving her children was used to mark the strength of her commitment to God. Among the most poignant passages is the one where Jerome describes Paula’s departure for the Holy Land, leaving her children behind at the port of Rome:¹⁶

Disregarding her house, her children, her servants, her property, and in a word everything connected with the world, she was eager ... to go to the desert made famous by its Pauls and by its Antonys. And at last when the winter was over and the sea was open, and when the bishops were returning to their churches, she also sailed with them in her prayers and desires. Not to prolong the story, she went down to Portus accompanied by her brother, her kinsfolk and above all her own children eager by their demonstrations of affection to overcome their loving mother. At last the sails were set and the strokes of the rowers carried the vessel into the deep. On the shore the little Toxotius stretched forth his hands in entreaty, while Rufina, now grown up, with silent sobs besought her mother to wait till she should be married. But still Paula’s eyes were dry as she turned them heavenwards; and she overcame her love for her children by her love for God. She knew herself no more as a mother, that she might approve herself a handmaid of Christ. Yet her heart was rent within her, and she wrestled with her grief, as though she were being forcibly separated from parts of herself. The greatness of the affection she had to overcome made all admire her victory the more. Among the cruel hardships which attend prisoners of war in the hands of their enemies, there is none more severe than the separation of parents from their children. Though it is against the

¹⁵ Leontios of Neapolis, *Life of John the Almsgiver* 38, in Festugière and Rydén (n. 6) 389–391.

¹⁶ Jerome, *Letter* 108, to Eustochium, 6.

laws of nature, she endured this trial with unabated faith; nay more she sought it with a joyful heart: and overcoming her devotion to her children by her greater devotion to God, she concentrated herself quietly upon Eustochium alone, the partner alike of her vows and of her voyage. Meantime the vessel ploughed onwards and all her fellow-passengers looked back to the shore. But she turned away her eyes that she might not see what she could not behold without agony. No mother, it must be confessed, ever loved her children so dearly. Before setting out she gave them all that she had, disinheriting herself upon earth that she might find an inheritance in heaven.

The heart-rending tone of this narrative is intended to bring out the size of the sacrifice made by those who chose the path of asceticism. As Gillian Clark has put it, “the pleading children are stage props enhancing the effect.”¹⁷ It is one of the longest passages of this type, but far from the only one to use this motif. Often however, the element of *pathos* is limited and the message is conveyed much more economically.

In the *Life of Saint Matrona of Perge*, for example, the motif of the child is handled quite differently. Matrona decides to leave her young daughter with a trusted friend when she enters monastic life. When later she has to leave the monastery, she finds refuge at that friend’s house.¹⁸

Thus, the blessed Matrona departed from the monastery, conducted by the deacon Markellos, and was once again received in the abode of Susannah. But before the blessed one departed from the monastery, God, *Who fulfillleth the will of them that fear Him*¹⁹ and assists in every way to the good of them that love Him, had taken her child Theodote unto Himself, lest she should add despair to despair and might, out of concern for the child, somehow slacken in her purpose. Wherefore, finding that she had died, <the blessed one> felt joy rather than grief, for she was thus set free of concern for <the child>, and the latter, also set free, had departed hence before experiencing the evils of this life. As greatly as she grieved over her separation from the monastery, even so great was the consolation she found in her rejection of the child: for

¹⁷ G. Clark, “The Fathers and the Children,” in D. Wood (ed.), *The Church and Childhood* (Oxford 1994) 3.

¹⁸ S. *Matronae Vita Prima* 10, in H. Delehaye, *Acta SS.*, Nov. III, cols. 795B-C; transl. by J. Featherstone and C. Mango in A.-M. Talbot (ed.), *Holy Women of Byzantium: Ten Saints’ Lives in English Translation* (Washington 1996) 28-29.

¹⁹ Ps. 144(145).19.

this, too, was God's doing, to assuage in one part the suffering she felt in another.

Evoking the death of a child is an image strong enough to allow the author to dispense with melodrama; and saying that the mother "felt joy" about it is the sort of paradox used by monastic literature to signify the ascetic's complete reversal of worldly values. A story from the *Apophthegmata Patrum* goes even further, combining this theme with that of total obedience, in accordance with the biblical model of the sacrifice of Isaac:²⁰

One of the Thebans once came to abba Sisoës, wanting to become a monk. The old man asked him whether he had anyone in the world. He said, "I have a son." The old man said to him, "Go, throw him into the river, and then you shall be a monk." As he went off to throw him in, the old man sent a brother to stop him. The brother said, "Stop, what are you doing?" He said, "The abba told me to throw him in." So the brother said, "But now he has told you not to." And leaving him, he went to the old man; and he became a proven monk because of his obedience.

Such stories seem to imply that the complete acquisition of one of the great monastic virtues is the secret to becoming a certified monk. Parting, sometimes in extreme ways, with one's children served as a powerful, and all in all sparingly used, *exemplum*.

However, in the story from Coislin 257, the usual terms of this *topos* are reversed. The parents, we are told, are still subject to "nature," and want to see their child, even showing some irritation at the way in which he is treated by the abba. Contrary to most other narratives, here it is the child who has achieved both humility and detachment. This is quite rare in the early monastic literature, which on the contrary, insists on the fact that children have by nature the exact opposite qualities to those required for monastic life. In the Moschos collection itself, there is one episode describing how during a sea voyage, the children on board used up all the available water, so that it ran out before the end of the journey.²¹ Another story shows a group of children tampering with sacred ritual during their thoughtless play and provoking the transubstantia-

²⁰ *Apophthegmata Patrum*, alphabetical collection, Sisoës 10, PG 65.393-396; transl. from Clark (n. 17) 1, with modifications.

²¹ *Spiritual Meadow* 174, PG 87.3041.

tion followed by a manifestation of God's displeasure without realising what they have done.²²

Yet in a further and very similar tale there is a subtle shift in the paradigm. The great Athanasios of Alexandria is shown playing at liturgy on the beach as a child. The baptisms he performs, however, are considered valid by the then archbishop of Alexandria, because the little Athanasios did everything according to the rules.²³ The two stories follow each other in the Moschos collection, and evidently the second one complements the first one, serving as a counterpoint to it by claiming that contrary to ordinary children, "holy" children do not "play" at ritual, but actually perform it like adults ahead of their time. This *topos* becomes very prominent in later Greek hagiography, which hails the "precociousness" of children destined to become saints – a form of *imitatio Christi* that culminates in the model of the *puer senex*, itself based on the story of Jesus teaching in the Temple (*Luke* 2.39-52).²⁴ In more mundane terms perhaps, what we are dealing with is the retrospective "hagiographization" of the childhood of great religious figures. Once again, the text presented here does not conform to the norm, since it attributes this form of precocious holiness to a child that remains anonymous.

This could be in great part because it is one of the earliest stories to construct this new *topos* of "holy childhood." It is also, in a way, an ideal-type of this theme, in that it illustrates precisely the incompatibility of childhood and holiness. Indeed, as the tale advances, the vocabulary used to describe the child changes. He is called *παῖς* and *μικρός* until the abba proclaims he has "become a monk." After that, he is described as *ὁ νεώτερος*. These terms usually describe two successive states, "the child" and "the young man." For instance, in the prescriptions given in the Apostolic Constitutions about the place of the various age-groups in a church, the *νεώτεροι* are expected to seat themselves, while the *παιδία* are taken along by their parents.²⁵ Thus, like a mini-initiation tale, this text charts with very economical means the symbolic passage from

²² *Spiritual Meadow* 196, PG 87.3081. See J. Duffy, "Playing at Ritual: Variations on a Theme in Byzantine Religious Tales," in D. Yatromanolakis and P. Roilos (eds.), *Greek Ritual Poetics* (Washington 2004) 199-209.

²³ *Spiritual Meadow* 197, PG 87.3084.

²⁴ On the pervasiveness of this theme in Middle Byzantine hagiography, see B. Caeseau, "Childhood in Byzantine Saints' Lives," in A. Papaconstantinou and A.-M. Talbot (eds.), *Becoming Byzantine: Children and Childhood in Byzantium* (Washington 2009, in press).

²⁵ *Apost. Const.* 2.57, in B.M. Metzger, *Les constitutions apostoliques*, vol. 1 (Paris 1985) 316.

childhood to a different stage: having “become a monk,” the boy is no longer a “child,” irrespective of his age.

A final question that arises is what to make of the term ἐδόθη. What did “giving” one’s offspring to a monastery actually involve? This is an issue that goes well beyond the scope of commenting on this specific text, and this is not the place to treat it exhaustively. Some preliminary remarks can be made, however, leading on from the only historical study of childhood that to my knowledge has quoted this passage. In *The Kindness of Strangers*, his impressively wide-ranging, if controversial, book on the abandonment of children from antiquity to the Renaissance, John Boswell mentions this tale in a footnote with the comment that the parents “come to see him and are surprised – but delighted – that he has become a monk, which they had apparently not intended or authorized.”²⁶ Obviously such a text will not be realistic about the parents’ feelings: it will inevitably insist on their “delight.” However, the fact that this development was neither intended nor authorised by them comes through quite clearly, and reflects what seems to have been a widespread reality.

From the very beginnings of monasticism, it is possible to discern a tension between the parents and the monastic communities to which their children were entrusted. Children were given to monasteries for their education, but the impression given by the surviving sources is that the monastic communities wanted to keep them and raise them as monks, which was not the initial intention. In his Canon 9, the famous fifth-century abbot Shenoute implied that the decision to keep or send away the children lay with the community.²⁷

The men who were entrusted with the supervision of little boys and who do not take care of them because they play around and do funny things with them, or joke with them, let them be relieved of this charge, and never receive it again. Similarly the women who have been entrusted with little girls. If little boys who have grown up have fulfilled judgement, we will do with them what is written; if they do not obey and do not learn to be men of the heart, we will chase them away from us.

²⁶ J. Boswell, *The Kindness of Strangers: The Abandonment of Children in Western Europe from Late Antiquity to the Renaissance* (New York 1988) 238, n. 36.

²⁷ É. Amélineau, *Œuvres de Schénoudi*, vol. 2 (Paris 1914) 215, fr. XIII; the same passage in J. Leipoldt, *Sinuthii archimandritae vita et opera omnia*, vol 4 (Paris 1913) 105-106.

One may object that the children in Shenoute's monastery could have been given to the community by their parents expressly in order to become monks, and this is indeed impossible to verify. Yet even though edifying and hagiographical literature invariably considers that becoming a monk is the most positive and universally acclaimed outcome of an education in a monastic school, there are reasons to doubt that this was always the case. In his *Asketikon*, Basil treats of this question at some length:²⁸

Children bereft of parents we take in of our own accord, thus becoming fathers of orphans after the example of Job's zeal (*Job* 29.12). But children who are under their parents' authority and are brought by them in person we receive before several witnesses, so as to give no pretext to those on the look-out for one, and to stop every unjust mouth uttering blasphemy against us. Therefore they ought to be received in accordance with this principle, but it is not fitting that they be immediately numbered and enrolled with the body of the brothers – so that if they fail, no reproaches are brought against the life of piety.

These precautions clearly indicate that things were not as straightforward as hagiographers would have us believe. The question of the parents' wishes is closely linked to that of the age at which children could independently consent to the monastic life, a subject also tackled by Basil, whose answer was, "The profession of virginity, however, will only be firm from the time adult age has already begun, or that age which is usually considered appropriate and ripe for marriage."²⁹ This would normally have been twelve for girls and fourteen for boys,³⁰ although in one of his letters Basil suggests that a girl should not make any decision about virginity until she is master of her senses, which according to him is around sixteen or seventeen.³¹

There seems to have been much abuse concerning this matter throughout the Christian world. In the sixth-century West, the transfer of children to a

²⁸ Basil of Caesarea, *Asketikon mega* 15, PG 31.952: ἐπὶ πολλῶν μαρτύρων δεχόμενοι, ὥστε μὴ δοῦναι ἀφορμὴν τοῖς θέλουσιν ἀφορμὴν· ἀλλὰ πᾶν ἄδικον στόμα τῶν λαλούντων καθ' ἡμῶν βλασφημίαν ἐπισχεθῆναι. Transl. in A. Silvas, *The Asketikon of St Basil the Great* (Oxford 2005) 200–201.

²⁹ *Regula Basili* 7.3, transl. Silvas (n. 28) 199–200 and n. 238: *firma tamen tunc erit professio virginitatis, ex quo adulta iam aetas esse coeperit et ea quae solet nuptiis apta deputari ac perfecta.*

³⁰ G. Prinzing, "Observations on the Legal Status of Children and the Stages of Childhood in Byzantium," in Papaconstantinou and Talbot (n. 24).

³¹ Basil of Caesarea, *Letter* 199, *To Amphilochios on the Canons* 18, in Y. Courtonne, *Saint Basile, Lettres*, vol. 2 (Paris 1961) 156.

monastery by their parents was strictly regulated by Benedict, and transformed into a ritualised act with a specific document attached to it:³²

Regarding the sons of nobles and of the poor who are offered. If a noble person offers his son to God in the monastery, if the child is still young, let his parents draw up the document we have already discussed, and enfold the hand of the boy in the altar-cloth together with the offering and offer him in this manner. As far as their possessions are concerned, the document in question should contain the solemn oath never to possess anything – either themselves, or through an intermediary, or in any other way (...) Thus let all roads back be cut off, so that the boy has nothing further to look forward to that might, as we know from experience, tempt him and – God preserve us! – lead him to damnation. (...) Let poorer people do likewise. But those who have no possessions at all should simply draw up the document and offer their son with the offering in the presence of witnesses.

Here, it is clear that from the start the intention is for the child to enter monastic life. There is clearly a strong concern that the child will not be “tempted” to leave the community at a later stage. Benedict does not mention a second stage when the oblate would have to consent to the decision made on his behalf by his parents: oblation is presented as an irrevocable decision. Yet contemporary and later evidence show the question of consent to have been an important matter of debate, especially the irrevocability of the oblation of children under a certain age, whose vows could not be considered valid. The fact that church councils in the sixth and seventh centuries repeatedly stated that parental vows could not be revoked indicates that there was a high degree of resistance to that principle. Only with the Council of Aachen in 817 was a clear rule given on the question of consent, stating that a boy given by his parents should confirm his parents’ vow “once he has attained the age of understanding.”³³ This opened the door for monks who were given as children and later changed their minds to argue legally against the monastery by questioning the validity of the vows

³² *Rule of Saint Benedict* 59, PL 66.839-40; transl. in M. de Jong, *In Samuel's Image: Child Oblation in the Early Medieval West* (Leiden 1996) 26.

³³ *Legislatio Aquisgranensis, Synodi secundae decreta authentica* (a. 817) (Siegburg 1963) 477 (canon 17): *quam et tempore intelligibili ipse puer confirmet*. On the discussions that took place in the West see de Jong (n. 32) 30-73.

they had been made to take as children, rather than simply run away as most rebels had done to that date.³⁴

We have no preserved evidence of similar discussions in the East, and it is quite probable that the situation was not entirely similar. However, it is also clear that Basil's prescriptions were not followed to the letter. The Council in Trullo regulated again on this matter. The beginning of its canon 40 runs as follows:³⁵

Since to cleave to God by retiring from the noise and turmoil of life is very beneficial, it behoves us not without examination to admit before the proper time those who choose the monastic life, but to observe respecting them the limit handed down by our fathers, in order that we may then admit a profession of the life according to God as forever firm, and the result of knowledge and judgment after years of discretion have been reached. He therefore who is about to submit to the yoke of monastic life should not be less than ten years of age, the examination of the matter depending on the decision of the bishop, whether he considers a longer time more conducive for his entrance and establishment in the monastic life.

This has been seen as an innovation, significantly lowering the age of consent from the one required by Basil.³⁶ This is certainly true as far as norms are concerned. However, the production of such norms is an interactive process, and the wording of the canon rather suggests that it was common practice to allow children under ten years of age to take monastic vows: what the council rules is that they should be at *least* ten when they do so, and possibly older if the bishop thought it necessary.

Only in the eighth century do we have any documentary evidence of children being given to monasteries, with the Coptic child-donation contracts from the archives of St Phoibammon in Western Thebes. The impression gained from those texts, as well as from a cluster of Coptic hagiographical texts that take up the same motif of the child promised to "the saint," is that children were brought to monasteries by their parents when they reached the

³⁴ The most famous case being that of Gottschalk, who defied Hrabanus Maurus, superior of the monastery of Fulda, and was indeed granted his freedom from the monastic state; see the summary of the case in de Jong (n. 32) 77-91.

³⁵ Council in Trullo, Canon 40, in Rhallés-Potlès 2:397-398.

³⁶ See for instance É. Patlagean, "L'enfant et son avenir dans la famille byzantine," *Annales de démographie historique* (1973) 88; repr. in her *Structure sociale, famille, chrétienté à Byzance* (London 1981), no. X.

age of five, and that this was done rather reluctantly.³⁷ One of the *Miracles of Sts Cyrus and John*, written by Sophronios of Jerusalem who was very close to John Moschos, clearly shows how the institution, hiding behind the identity of “the saints,” decided such matters in place of the parents. The passage concerns the early years of the shrine’s administrator, Georgios, who had arrived as an orphan with his mother from Cilicia. She had taken him to see the saints because she had been told they could heal the illness of his eyes.³⁸

As Georgios was a child, the very merciful martyrs took him under their protection. As they loved him with the love of a father, they decided not to send him back to his mother. Having taken the place of his father, they shared the children with the mother. They gave her the girls, two of them, who were already grown. They took Georgios under their protection and convinced his mother, in a dream, under oath, that they would cure him (because this happened before the cure), and that they would do for him what his father would not have done, even if he had survived.

Here the child is simply “abducted” by the martyrs, who, we are told a bit further, solved all his problems, offering him a new homeland, giving him back his sight, and becoming his fathers (πατέρες γινόμενοι). As such, they raised him to acquire virtue and had him enter the clergy. The focus is slightly different from that of the monastic texts, since this concerns a martyr shrine and the secular clergy, but the underlying principle is very similar, namely that the holy men and the ‘martyrs’ know what is good for a child much better than its parents.

³⁷ See my “Θεία οίκονομία. Les actes thébains de donation d’enfants ou la gestion monastique de la pénurie,” *T&MByz* 14 (2002) 511-526, and “Notes sur les actes de donation d’enfant au monastère thébain de Saint-Phoibammon,” *JJP* 32 (2002) 83-105.

³⁸ *Miracle* 51.9, a passage only preserved in the Latin translation by Athanasius, *PG* 87.3615-16; see J. Gascoü, *Sophrone de Jérusalem, Miracles des saints Cyr et Jean* (BHG 477-479) (Paris 2006) 182.

Un documento dell'*oikos* di Theon (PL III/331)

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Abstract

An unpublished papyrus in the Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana documents the *oikos* of Theon during the period in which its namesake was still alive.

Tra i papiri che si possono collegare all'archivio degli Apioni e che ancora inediti si conservano nella Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana di Firenze mi è parso opportuno, in questa speciale occasione di omaggio ad un collega al quale mi lega una lunga amicizia, di rendere pubblico l'inizio di un documento che permette alcune considerazioni degne di nota.¹

Il papiro di colore chiaro, mutilo a sinistra ed in basso, appartiene al fondo dei Papiri Laurenziani² e riporta sul *recto* lungo le fibre almeno sei righe di un documento la cui tipologia non è più precisabile.

Dopo una datazione (ottobre 436 o 437 d.C.) che menziona i consoli Fl. Anthemius Isidorus e Fl. Senator, mai attestata finora dai papiri, si registra la presenza di un [Fl. ...] figlio di Martyrios *bouleutes* di Ossirinco ed *epimeletes* delle annone per i Memphites o i Pharanites, *numeri* che erano sovvenzionati da Ossirinco, al servizio della *meris* di Theon, che a questa data risulta con ogni probabilità ancora vivo ed attivo come *curialis*.

Per la μερίς e l'οἶκος di Theon (già defunto), si vedano *P.Oxy.* 1.126.4; 16.1887, nt. 2, con i riferimenti a 1999; 2009; 2016; 2039;³ *P.Warren* 3, nt.

¹ Ringrazio Todd M. Hickey tanto per l'invito a prendere parte a questa iniziativa quanto per i preziosi suggerimenti forniti, e l'amico Jean Gascoù al quale debbo l'interpretazione dell'inizio del r. 5 parzialmente in lacuna.

² Per la storia del fondo si veda R. Pinaudi in *Miscellanea Papyrologica* (Pap.Flor. 7, Firenze 1980) 391-409.

³ Il papiro è stato ripubblicato da G. Azzarello, *ZPE* 155 (2006) 207-228; in part. si vedano le pp. 210-212 e la nota 10 (l'*oikos* sarebbe scomparso intorno al 459/60 d.C.).

“... degli illustrissimi Flavii Isidorus e Senator [...] Phaophi . [Flavio ...] figlio di Martyrios, *bouleutes* della splendida e [splendidissima] città degli Os-sirinchiti *epimeletes* delle annone dei [fortissimi ...] della *meris* del venerabile Theon *curialis* ...”

1 ὑπατείας/μ.τ.ύ.; 436 o 437 d.C.; il semplice criterio dello spazio non mi sembra cogente per la scelta di una delle formulazioni. Si tratta della prima attestazione su papiro del consolato o post consolato di Fl. Anthemius Isidorus e Fl. Senator; cfr. *CSBE*², 196.

2 Dopo l'indubitabile Phaophi una lettera tondeggiante che potrebbe essere ε (2 ottobre), oppure θ (6 ottobre); escluderei δ.

3 Φλάουιος . . .]ος νιὸς Μαρτυρί[ο]υ: attestato per la prima volta come *bouleutes* ed *epimeletes* dell'annona al servizio della *meris* di Theon.

5 Secondo Jean Gasco (per *epist.*), “On attend le nom collectif d'une unité militaire arcadienne qui serait bénéficiaire de ces annones. Les deux *numeri* subventionnés par Oxyrhynchus, à cette époque, sont les ‘Memphites’ (désignation vulgaire des soldats de la *legio V macedonica*, basée en effet à Memphis) ou les Pharanites, stationnés alors à Oxhyrhynchus (*P.Oxy.* LXVIII 4700.3-5). Voir *SB XIV* 11854 (je soupçonne que ce texte vient d'Oxyrhynchus). Je pense donc que les lectures qui se recommandent seraient au choix Μεμφ[ι]τῶν ou Φαραν[ι]τῶν. S'il s'agit des Pharanites, ce serait leur plus ancienne attestation. Mais il y a lieu de penser qu'ils sont arrivés en Egypte dès le règne de Théodose II (*P.Aphrod.Reg.*, p. 151).”

Sui πολιτευόμενοι si veda A. Laniado, “Ἀρχαντες and πολιτευόμενοι in papyri from Graeco-Roman Egypt,” *ZPE* 115 (1997) 201-220; *id.*, “Βουλευταί et πολιτευόμενοι,” in *CÉ* 72 (1997) 130-144; e K.A. Worp, “*Bouleutai* and *politeuomenoi* in Later Byzantine Egypt Again,” *CÉ* 74 (1999) 124-132.

Villages and Patronage in Fourth-Century Egypt: The Case of *P.Ross.Georg. 3.8*

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Abstract

This paper proposes a reinterpretation of *P.Ross.Georg. 3.8*, a fourth-century letter from the villagers of Euhemeria to their “master and patron” Nechos, which has often been discussed as one of the earliest examples of an Egyptian village under the *patrocinium* of a wealthy landowner. I suggest instead that Nechos was the local *praepositus pagi*, probably in the mid- to later 340s, trying to enforce an imperial edict ordering the return of fugitive inhabitants to their home villages. The villagers’ assertion that they had never surrendered their bodies may mean no more than they had never been arrested and detained by the state. However, the growing practice of private detention and subjection for debt may have influenced their assertion. Although the restricted distribution and content and the geographical context of the papyri from the fourth-century Arsinoite nome limit their value as evidence for fourth-century developments in general, it is also doubtful that contemporary Oxyrhynchite texts provide evidence for the patronage of villages, let alone for the beginnings of the colonate.

1. *The text*

The village in Byzantine Egypt is a topic of which Jim Keenan is master and patron.¹ As one who rarely ventures beyond AD 300, I hesitantly offer this reconsideration of *P.Ross.Georg. 3.8*, a fourth-century letter from the villagers of Euhemeria of the Arsinoite nome (Fayyum) to Nechos their “master and patron.” The text was purchased by Zereteli before 1914, and published with a plate by him and Jernstedt in 1930, since when it has often been discussed

¹ Synthesis in J.G. Keenan, “Byzantine Egyptian Villages,” in R. S. Bagnall (ed.), *Egypt in the Byzantine World, 300-700* (Cambridge 2007) 226-243. I thank Nick Gonis, Todd Hickey, Peter Parsons, Alan Bowman, and Stephen Colvin for various advice.

as one of the earliest examples of an Egyptian village under the *patrocinium* (patronage-control) of a wealthy landowner.² As the editors observed, the text was dictated in very respectable Greek but written by a scribe who often spelled phonetically. I give the text with some improvements and my own fairly literal translation.³

- τῷ δεσπότη ἡμῶν καὶ [πάτρο-]
 νι Νέχῳ Ἀτρῆς καὶ Μέλας
 καὶ Ἀνούφιος καὶ Ἀβοῦς καὶ Ἀπόλλ-
 4 ων καὶ Ἥλίας καὶ Νῖλος καὶ Χαι-
 ρήμων καὶ οἱ πάντες ἀπὸ κώ[μ]ης
 Εὐημερίας. γινώσκιν σε θέ-
 λωμεν, κύριε ἡμῶν Νέχαι,
 8 ὅτι οὐδαὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ πατρός σου
 οὐδὲ ἐπεὶ τῆς εὐπύιας σου
 τὸ σῶμα δεδώκαμεν. ἀλλὰ ὅς
 ἡνιαισῖος ποιούμεεν τὸ ἐ[ν]τά-
 12 γιον, παρέχομεν οὐδενεῖ. [οὐ-]
 δις ξένος ἐστὶν ἐν τῇ κ[ώ]-
 μῃ ἡμῶν, ἀλλὰ δύω πῦ[ργ]ι[α]
 ἐστὶν καὶ οὐδὶς δύνα[τ]αι ἐλ-
 16 άσαι ἐν τῇ κώμῃ ἢ βάδῃ
 ἐλτίν. καὶ εἴ τινα ἐπ' αὐτοῦ
 ἀρῆς τὸν τέκνων ἡμ[ῶ]ν,
 οὐκ ἀντιλέγωμέν σοι. [δ]ο-
 20 κοῦν σοι πρᾶξαι πρᾶξον.
 ἐρρωσθαί σοι ε[ὐ]χόμε-
 θα πολλοῖς χρ[ό]νοις]

² The main contributions to the historiographical debate are reviewed by P. van Minnen, "Patronage in Fourth-Century Egypt: A Note on P.Ross.Georg. III 8," *JJP* 27 (1997) 67-73, also the first attempt to improve the text. I too cited the text in my *Economic Rationalism and Rural Society in Third-century A.D. Egypt: The Heroninos Archive and the Appianus Estate* (Cambridge 1991) 407, to evoke the development of the colonate in this area in comparison with the third-century situation. There I wrongly gave Hatres as the patronymic of Nechos; no doubt I make new errors here.

³ I note only divergences from the *ed. pr.* and van Minnen's suggestions (*BL* 11:187): l. 2: *ed. pr.* Μᾶ . . . υ; l. 10-14: punctuation as in *ed. pr.*, not following van Minnen; the former makes better sense (sect. 5 below); l. 17: *ed. pr.* εἰ τιν ἀνια τον υκον; van Minnen εἴ τινα ἄγ ἀπὸ τούτου; l. 18: I suspect that the writer intended ἀρεῖς (future indicative) rather than van Minnen's ἀρης (aorist subjunctive); l. 23: not read by *ed. pr.* or van Minnen.

κύρ[ι]ε πάτρω[ν].

Verso

24 τῷ δεσ[π]ότη ἡμῶν καὶ πάτρονι Νέχῳ οἱ ἐπὶ κώμης
Ἐϋημερίας

“To our master and patron Nechos, Hatres and Melas and Anouphios and Abous and Apollon and Elias and Nilos and Chairemon and all the men from the village of Euhemeria. We wish you to know, our lord Nechos, that neither in your father’s time nor in your excellency’s have we given our body, but since each year we do what is imposed, we do not render (sc. our body) to anyone. There is no outsider in our village, but there are two watchtowers, and no one can ride to the village or come by foot. And if you take away one of our children on account (?) of it, we do not argue against you. Do what you decide to do.

We pray you are well for many years, lord patron.

(*Address on back*) To our master and patron Nechos, the men at the village of Euhemeria.”

2. *Places and papyri*

A first step is to put this letter, which has usually been discussed in isolation, in its physical and documentary context.⁴ In the fourth century AD many villages on the fringes of the Fayyum suffered terminal contractions of farmland and population, although some experienced limited re-occupation in the sixth to eighth centuries. Among these were Euhemeria and the other villages of the northwest corner of the Fayyum. Fourth-century documents from neighboring Theadelphia attest the proximate cause: a lack of water for irrigation (and life) that became chronic in the 330s because villages higher up the main feeder canals were monopolizing the supply.⁵ From the sites of Theadelphia (Harit), Euhemeria (Qasr el-Banat) and Philoteris (Watfa) no pottery later than the fourth century has been reported, and the latest known attestations dated by year to these villages are of 381 or 382, 347, and 313 respec-

⁴ What follows draws on, with additions and corrections, the online *Heidelberger Gesamtverzeichnis* and the *Trismegistos* database (Leuven-Cologne); Calderini, *Diz. geogr.*; and P. Davoli, *L'archeologia urbana nel Fayyum di età ellenistica e romana* (Napoli 1998).

⁵ *P.Sakaon* 33, 35, 42, 45, cf. 44, with J.W. Ermatinger, “The Economic Death of Theadelphia during the Early Fourth Century A.D.,” *MBAH* 16 (1997) 1-10. Such problems had occurred before but had been temporary: e.g., *P.Sakaon* 32 (254-68); cf. *P.Wisc.* 1.32 (305, Philadelphia).

tively, and 358 for Taurinou (site unknown).⁶ The latest dated fourth-century attestation of Dionysias (Qasr Qarun) is of 362, and the excavators of 1948 and 1950 reckoned that from the fourth to mid-fifth century there was only military occupation connected to the fort that guarded the route into the Fayyum from the western desert; however, two Byzantine ostraka were excavated and a papyrus scrap (unpublished) found in the temple, and a sixth-century text from elsewhere published since seems to attest village leaders (*meizones*) of Dionysias.⁷ While this area may have seen some slight Byzantine reoccupation, in the fourth century these were villages in terminal decline. The contrast with the mid-third century, when these villages were flourishing centers with units of the Appianus and other large estates, is marked.

The two hundred or so published fourth-century texts that relate to these villages almost all come from three sites and mostly belong to three archives. A detailed study of these texts, which paid attention to their provenance or acquisition and their prosopography and hands, would clarify and amend the content and dating of these archives, and thus lay the foundation for a proper historical re-evaluation of them. I try to illustrate the possibilities. Five published sporadic fourth-century papyri and seventy ostraka found together (three published) are known to have come from Euhemeria because they were excavated there by Grenfell and Hunt in winter 1898/9.⁸ Other texts may have been found independently and sold, but probably few if any: of the five other fourth-century texts that mention Euhemeria three certainly came from elsewhere.⁹ Far more prolific was neighboring Theadelphia, mainly through local digging after Grenfell and Hunt's excavations in February 1899. The principal fourth-century archive said to be from Harit, mostly confiscated in 1903 and in the Cairo Museum, is the Sakaon archive, which comprises over seventy texts with dates from 280/1 to 343 (or perhaps 356/7).¹⁰ Just overlapping the fourth century is the archive of sheep lessees, with twenty texts from 260 to

⁶ *P.Col.* 8.237, with *CSBE*² 190; *SB* 22.15728; *P.Col.* 8.236, plus a coin of Constans, 337-350 (*P.Fay.*, p. 71); *P.Ross.Georg.* 3.28.

⁷ *SB* 22.15296; J. Schwartz and H. Wild, *Fouilles franco-suissees, rapports I. Qasr-Qarun/Dionysias* 1948 (Cairo 1950) 21, 49, 85-86; J. Schwartz, *Fouilles franco-suissees, rapports II. Qasr-Qarun/Dionysias* 1950 (Cairo 1969) 112, n. 4, 115-116; *P.Laur.* 3.93.

⁸ *P.Fay.* 134, 135 recto with verso (the prior text), 136, 242 descr.; *SB* 16.13001 (verso) with 13000 (recto; 30+ dr., so probably pre-274); *O.Fay.* 42; 43; *SB* 6.9306.

⁹ *P.Abinn.* 27; *P.Sakaon* 53, 73, also 32 (of 254-268). Unknown: *P.Ross.Georg.* 3.8; *SB* 22.15728 (purchased in 1920), on which see sect. 4 below.

¹⁰ *P.Sakaon* 1-75 forms the nucleus. Add *P.Turner* 44 (EES; purchased with *P.Sakaon* 48 perhaps in 1914), perhaps *P.Lond.* 3.989 descr. (cf. *P.Sakaon* 62); remove *P.Sakaon* 54 (Abinnaeus archive). *P.Sakaon* 32, a record of an official hearing of 254-268, is an archived document or later copy.

305, all but one purchased around 1902 to 1905 for Strasbourg University.¹¹ There are also at least another eleven papyri of the late third to fourth century that probably come from Theadelphia and may well belong to the archive of Sakaon (or the sheep lessees) and ten receipts on ostraka for deliveries of wheat and the like, some or all of which were perhaps found with the more numerous third-century ostraka of this type.¹² The three other fourth-century texts that mention Theadelphia are from the Abinnaeus archive.¹³ There were no fourth-century texts among the few found at Philoteris by Grenfell and Hunt in early 1899, and there are only a couple of references to the village.¹⁴ None of the eight papyri and eleven ostraka found at Dionysias are of the fourth century.¹⁵ There are a mere ten or so references to Dionysias in fourth-century texts from elsewhere, including the archives of Sakaon and Abinnaeus.¹⁶ Of the almost ninety texts of the Abinnaeus archive most relate to his command from 342 to 351 of the fort and cavalry unit at Dionysias, but they largely deal with military matters and events in nearby villages. This archive is plausibly said to come from Philadelphia (Kom Kharabet el-Kebir) on the eastern edge of the Fayyum; most of it was purchased in 1892 and 1893 for the British Museum (Library) and Geneva University, but a few texts were sold separately.¹⁷ The links between these archives may reflect the low population of these dying villages. Pasis, son of Nilammon, from the family of sheep lessees, also appears in *P.Sakaon*

¹¹ *P.Chept.* 1-6, 7+8, 9-20; *P.Sakaon* 76 (bought in 1921 or 1922 for Cornell University).

¹² *P.Sakaon* 77, 82, 84, 88, 89, 92-94, 98; *CPR* 6.5; probably *P.Bodl.* 1.25 (Sakaon may have held tax receipts on behalf of fellow villagers). Ostraka: *P.Sakaon* 78-81, 83, 85, 90, 91; *O.Fay.* 19; *SB* 14.11564. *P.Sakaon* 76, 86, 87, and 95-97 belong to the archive of sheep lessees.

¹³ *P.Abinn.* 44, 69, 80.v.

¹⁴ *P.Sakaon* 3; *P.Col.* 8.326; no reference in the Abinnaeus archive.

¹⁵ Papyri: Schwartz (n. 7) 112, n. 4, plus, said to have been found inside the temple in 1985, *SB* 26.16554-56, 16558, 16560, 16563 (III). Ostraka: *BIFAO* 85 (1985) 103; Schwartz and Wild (n. 7) 85-86; Schwartz (n. 7) 112-116.

¹⁶ *P.Sakaon* 2, 38, 47, 62; *P.Abinn.* 59, 61, perhaps 77. Others: *PSI* 8.893; *P.Sakaon* 77; *SB* 16.13001, 22.15286.

¹⁷ *P.Abinn.* has 85 texts of the archive on 78 papyri. *P.Abinn.* 44 is now *P.Sakaon* 47 of that archive; *P.Abinn.* 65 is now part of *SB* 14.11878 from another Philadelphian archive. Certain additions: *P.Gen.* 1².80 (cf. *P.Abinn.* 81); *SB* 14.11380 (at Berlin). Probable: *BGU* 17.2707, with *CÉ* 77 (2002) 237. Possible, as documents passed to Abinnaeus: *BGU* 1.151 (letter to a centurion); *P.Ross.Georg.* 3.8. In *SB* 24.16282 (at London) Apollon the new recruit could be the Apollon *tiro* of *P.Abinn.* 26, but the text apparently comes from the Hermopolite (*pace* Zuckerman). Suggested but generally rejected: *SB* 6.9605 (at Vienna); 10.10755 (at Strasbourg); 20.14954 (at Strasbourg; probably from Philadelphia).

4 and 49. *P.Sakaon* 47 is a copy of a request to Abinnaeus, while a sale of ten sheep by Sakaon is recorded in one of Abinnaeus' accounts (*P.Abinn.* 8.v.20). Fourth-century texts of unknown provenance that relate to these villages are likely to come from the site of Theadelphia or perhaps Euhemeria or from the archive of Abinnaeus. Since *P.Ross.Georg.* 3.8 has the address on the verso, it looks to be the letter sent rather than a copy kept at Euhemeria, but it could have been a copy, or never sent or returned. Alternatively, it might have been passed to Abinnaeus: Hatres of Euhemeria, whose name heads the lacunose request *P.Abinn.* 27 to Abinnaeus (from his archive), although the name was common, must be the Hatres of *P.Ross.Georg.* 3.8 (sect. 4 below).

Of course stray texts like *P.Ross.Georg.* 3.8, depending on their address and contents, could come from sites in other areas of the Arsinoite nome, but the possibilities are limited.¹⁸ The site of Philadelphia was also the source of some fifty or more other fourth-century papyri from a number of small archives, some with links to the Abinnaeus texts that relate to his wife's affairs there.¹⁹ Karanis (Kom Ushim), in the northeast corner of the Fayyum, has been by far the most prolific Fayyum site for fourth-century texts with more than five hundred published papyri and numerous ostraka deriving from excavations from 1897 to 1935 and local digging. Over two hundred of these papyri belong to the large archive of Aurelius Isidoros (ca. 267 to 324), the modest archive of Ation and Valerius (340s) and the small one of Aurelia Tetoueis (372-374). Although *P.Abinn.* 35 recounts an episode at Karanis, the Karanis material has no direct links with northwestern documents, but it provides separate evidence for the same historical situation.²⁰ The southwestern sites of Tebtunis (Umm el-Brigat) and Narmouthis (Medinet Madi), both major sources of papyri (with excavations continuing today) that were inhabited in and beyond the Byzantine period, are virtual documentary blanks for the fourth century. Narmouthis, which was much nearer to the northwestern villages, is mentioned in the Abinnaeus and Sakaon archives but not otherwise, and has produced over twenty ostraka; Tebtunis finds a mere five references, some perhaps from the site, and has produced two other texts.²¹ Medinet el-Fayyum (Kiman Faris), the

¹⁸ It is rare for texts like this to have migrated beyond their nome of origin.

¹⁹ E.g., *BGU* 2.405 and *SB* 14.11877, contracts signed by Sarapion, son of Julianus, who also wrote *P.Abinn.* 62.

²⁰ Archives: R.S. Bagnall, *P.Col.*, vol. 7, pp. 2-9. Situation: e.g., *P.Sakaon* 2, 3; *P.Sakaon* 76 (sheep lessees); *P.Cair.Isid.* 2-5: all declarations of AD 298 to 300 to the *censor* Septimius Sabinus.

²¹ Narmouthis: *P.Abinn.* 49, 50, 80.v; *P.Sakaon* 9, 35, 53, 54, 62; *O.Medin.Madi* 1.1-19, 33; some of *P.Köln* 2.119-122. Tebtunis: *P.Bad.* 2.29; *P.Michael.* 24; *O.Oslo* 1.19, 21, 24 (some late III); *ChLA* 5.307; *SB* 20.14297.

site of the nome capital Arsinoe, was prolific of papyri of the later Byzantine and early Arab periods, but very few of the fourth century are known.²² The quantity, distribution and type of the fourth-century texts from the Fayyum matter, and are worth outlining, because they reveal the oceans of ignorance amid which our islets of information float: nothing on the still prosperous villages or the nome capital and very little, almost nothing “top down,” on large estates, the civil administration or the church. Our fourth-century Arsinoite nome is restricted to the fiscal and other socio-economic problems of a few decaying villages and the running of a small local garrison.

3. *Master and patron*

We know nothing about Nechos, the addressee of *P.Ross.Georg.* 3.8, apart from what is in the text. Previous scholars have been careful not to call him a large landowner but have tacitly assumed it in their discussions of him as “master and patron” of the villagers of Euhemeria. However, as others have noted, the title *patron* is almost exclusively a fourth-century usage and has no more specific connotation than general deference.²³ The point is worth expanding because it is so widely ignored. In earlier Roman Egypt *patron*, the Greek formation from the Latin *patronus*, was the legal designation of the ex-master of a freedman, and “Patron” was a personal name common in Arsinoite villages, but I can find only two cases of a free man addressing another as “patron,” both in second-century letters.²⁴ I can find only one case each in the sixth and eighth centuries and none in the seventh.²⁵ There are only two to five possible fifth-century cases, but since papyri from that century are scarce, I take them to indicate continuing usage. There are twelve published letters of the fourth to fifth centuries that begin “To my master (*despotes*) and patron” and another seventeen that in the initial greeting or elsewhere call the addressee “patron,”

²² Perhaps, e.g., *BGU* 2.586, 606; *CPR* 6.5, 23.23, 23.25; *P.Flor.* 1.66; *P.Ryl.* 4.657; *P.Vind.Tand.* 4; *SB* 8.10194, 24.15914, 26.16666. Documents of identical type are also known, however, from the village sites, so the record, if any, of the provenance of each papyrus needs to be checked.

²³ J.R. Rea, *CPR* 5.19.18-19n., followed by R.S. Bagnall, *Egypt in Late Antiquity* (Princeton 1993) 216-217.

²⁴ *CPR* 5.19; *SB* 10.10445. Ignore *P.Bad.* 2.42 (with *BL* 11:11); *P.Oxy.* 8.1156 is also dubious. *SB* 5.8300 (I) is a dedication to the Roman *patronus* of a city. Although *P.Warr.* 20 is commonly used as an example of a third-century hand, its form and content suggest the fourth century, and I count it as such below.

²⁵ *P.Wash.Univ.* 1.43 (also *despotes*); *P.Ross.Georg.* 5.49; note the two re-dated texts in n. 26.

usually in association with “lord” (*kyrios*) or “master.”²⁶ The term “master” occurs in more letters either by itself or associated with “lord,” but because its usage is similar to “patron” but even less specific, I leave these cases out of my sample.²⁷ Of the twenty-nine texts with “patron” eleven certainly come from the Abinnaeus archive, but there is sufficient spread from the Oxyrhynchite and other Middle Egyptian nomes to confirm typicality. Conversely the archive provides a nicely coherent body of letters for comparative analysis.²⁸ In three cases only the writer gives his and his addressee’s position in the opening greeting: a monk to a centurion, a “new recruit” to a *proteuon* (civic official) and a *pomarites* (orchard-man) to a *geouchos* (landowner).²⁹ In four other cases the writer gives his own position only: a *boethos* (fiscal agent) and a decurion to Abinnaeus, a *pronoetes* and a *phrontistes* (estate managers) to their estate owners; five other cases give only the addressee’s position: twice *praepositus* of Abinnaeus, once another *praepositus*, twice *geouchos* (landowner).³⁰ This casual usage contrasts with the formal introductions to the thirteen official petitions in the Abinnaeus archive that all address Abinnaeus as “*praefectus alae* of the soldiers of the camp of Dionysias” and give the patronymic, position (if any) and home village of the petitioner, and that at no point call Abinnaeus “patron” or “master.”³¹ The exact status and relationship of the correspondents is sometimes ambiguous, but of the twenty-nine letters to a “patron” six seem to be from soldiers to a military superior and one to a civic official; three are from civic officials and two from private complainants to a military officer; four are to civic officials from their agents; nine are from estate managers or domestic agents to their employer; two are from farmers to a landowner; one is unknown

²⁶ “Master and patron:” *P.Abinn.* 28, 29, 31, 34, 37; *P.Iand.* 6.124; *P.Oxy.* 48.3420; *P.Ross.Georg.* 3.8; SB 8.9683, 24.16282 (all IV); *PSI* 9.1081 (IV/V); *P.Princ.* 2.104 (V). “Patron:” *P.Abinn.* 4, 25, 26 (?), 27, 35, 36; *BGU* 1.151; *P.Oxy.* 51.3646; *P.Sakaon* 56; *PSI* 7.835, as in *PSI Corr.* 1, pp. 11–26, with Bagnall (n. 23) 216, n. 42 (wrongly reported in *BL* 10:24); SB 12.10800, 12.10841; *Stud.Pal.* 20.111, with *BL* 10:271 (all IV); plus *P.Warr.* 20 (III?); *P.Vind.Tand.* 34 (IV/V); *P.Athen.Xyla* 16, with *BL* 10:252 (V); SB 20.14506 (*ed. pr.* VI?, so probably IV/V). Note also the reference to his employer as “patron” by an agent in SB 12.10803.5 (320s). I leave out SB 5.8197 (V), a “*strategos* and patron” of a nome.

²⁷ E.g., *P.Abinn.* 18, 24, 30, 32, 33. Note that *P.Abinn.* 35 has “master and lord” in its greeting and “master and patron” in its address. Also note *P.Ryl.* 4.624 (320s), a letter to Theophanes from his two sons who greet him as “our lord and master father.”

²⁸ I build on the acute observations in *P.Abinn.*, pp. 22–27.

²⁹ SB 8.9683, with n. 1 *ad loc.*; 24.16282; *P.Princ.* 2.104.

³⁰ Writer: *P.Abinn.* 28, 29; *PSI* 9.1081; *Stud.Pal.* 20.111. Addressee: *P.Abinn.* 25, 34; *P.Sakaon* 56; *PSI* 7.835; SB 12.10841.

³¹ *P.Abinn.* 45–57; cf. *P.Sakaon* 38–48, copies of petitions to governors, *praepositi* of *pagi*, eirenarchs and Abinnaeus.

and the other is *P.Ross.Georg.* 3.8.³² Nineteen of the letters report on events or the writer's actions and sometimes ask what to do next, and one also asks for a favor; five letters request favors and three are in effect petitions; the subject of one is unknown, and the other is *P.Ross.Georg.* 3.8.³³ Clearly the term *patron* was a rhetorical lubricant in non-official letters from those in lower to those in higher positions in the military or civilian administrative hierarchies, often where no personal relationship existed, but also in private estate or domestic organizations. It was not a marker of "patronage," let alone *patrocinium*, in the sense of a long-term semi-formal position of dependency. The letters asking for favors and the petitions do not cite or offer any dependency, but are standard appeals for help on grounds of humanity or equity.³⁴ Lastly, I note that of the three letters to a "patron" who is also called "landowner" one is from a *pomarites*, perhaps a sort of head tenant, who reports on liturgic appointments in a village, one is a request to buy 26 artabas of wheat (sect. 5 below) and the writer of the third, who also calls the landowner "brother," insists that he was not to blame for a fight with the landowner's camel-driver and trusts this will not interrupt their friendship (*philia*).³⁵ In none of the three is the writer clearly a tenant of the landowner, and other fourth-century letters show that the title *geouchos* could be used as a general courtesy not unlike the old usage of "esquire."³⁶

The letter to Nechos as "master and patron" can now be assessed against this group of comparanda. In form and content *P.Ross.Georg.* 3.8 is a report with an implied petition. The writers, although they identify themselves as representing the villagers of Euhemeria, do not give their patronymics or specify

³² From soldiers: *P.Abinn.* 26, 29, 34, 37(?); *BGU* 1.151; *P.Sakaon* 56; and *SB* 12.10800. To officers: *P.Abinn.* 4, 28, 35; and *P.Abinn.* 27; *SB* 8.9683. To civic officials: *P.Athen.Xyla* 16; *P.Iand.* 6.124; *P.Oxy.* 48.3420; *P.Vind.Tand.* 34 (?). To employers: *P.Abinn.* 25, 31, 36 (not literally his "slave," cf., e.g., *CPR* 5.19); *P.Oxy.* 51.3646; *P.Princ.* 2.104 (?); *PSI* 9.1081; *SB* 12.10800; *Stud.Pal.* 20.111; *P.Warr.* 20. From farmers: *PSI* 7.835; *SB* 12.10841. Unknown: *SB* 20.14506.

³³ Reports: *P.Abinn.* 4, 25, 26, 29, 31 (also favor), 35, 37; *BGU* 1.151; *P.Athen.Xyla* 16; *P.Iand.* 7.124; *P.Oxy.* 48.3420, 51.3646; *P.Princ.* 2.104 (?); *P.Sakaon* 56; *PSI* 9.1081; *P.Vind.Tand.* 34; *SB* 12.10800; *Stud.Pal.* 20.111; *P.Warr.* 20. Requests: *P.Abinn.* 34, 36; *PSI* 7.835; *SB* 12.10841 (see below), 24.16282 (almost a petition); and *P.Abinn.* 27, 28; *SB* 8.9683. Unknown: *SB* 20.14506.

³⁴ Abinnaeus is called "patron and helper (?)" in *P.Abinn.* 27.5 and "the only helper after God" in 34.8. In *P.Oxy.* 51.3646 the old manager acknowledges the respect he enjoys from his employment by the young landowner-while it lasts (i.e., he hopes he will be kept on), which is not patronage.

³⁵ *P.Princ.* 2.104; *PSI* 7.835; *SB* 20.10841.

³⁶ Bagnall (n. 23), 159.

their or Nechos' positions. Their opening phrase, "We wish you to know," is also used in *P.Abin.* 28 and 37 and *Stud.Pal.* 20.111, the first a complaint to Abinnaeus about a drunken soldier, the second a self-justifying report from a soldier or perhaps domestic agent, and the third a claim that the writer did not start a fight; thus it typically is a polite way to signal an independent assertion. The villagers' reference to Nechos as "your excellency" (*euphuia*), although unique so far for the fourth century, is typical of the inventive usage of the period. Abinnaeus, for instance, is variously called "your nobility" (*eugeneia*), "your goodness" (*chrestotes*) and "your handsomeness" (*kalokagathia*), and three of the other men addressed as *patron* are called "your wonderfulness" (*thaumasiotes*).³⁷ The villagers' closing comment, "Do what you decide to do," is paralleled in *P.Sakaon* 35, a speech to the governor on behalf of the villagers of Theadelphia, who have managed by extreme measures (sect. 5 below) to pay the taxes on 200 of the 500 arouras of land for which they are liable, and invite him to "order what you decide regarding them (the other 300 arouras) to happen." The implicit but patent message is that the governor had no option but to remit the taxes, and likewise Nechos to drop his unjustified demands, but in both cases the villagers diplomatically say they leave it to his decision.³⁸ The alternative tactic was to hint at the baleful consequences of a refusal, as in *P.Abin.* 27, where the same Hatres warns Abinnaeus that the whole village may be forced to flee, or 28, where a tax-collector says he may have to alert higher authorities in Arsinoe; in fact the previous sentence in *P.Ross.Georg.* 3.8 is a delicately negative reminder that the villagers could take legal action against Nechos (sect. 5 below). The letter is polite but firm. The villagers repudiate Nechos' claims and demands, but in a non-official personalized format and tone that invite him to back down as if he were conferring a favor. This approach, if successful, would spare them the hazards of a public dispute. The letter is as clever as its Greek is good, and we may wonder who its author was: Hatres, a local notary or an expert in Arsinoe?

The other clues to Nechos' identity are thin. The name is rare in the Greek papyri of all periods. If it perhaps represents the similar Egyptian name (Nekau)

³⁷ *P.Abin.*, p. 26; *P.Athen.Xyla* 16; *PSI* 7.835; *Stud.Pal.* 20.111. The only other appearances of *euphuia* are in *PCair.Masp.* 1.67097.v.D.69, 3.67295.17 (VI AD), but it is preferable to the editors' *eupoiia*, which in the NT and papyri is an action ("doing good," "good deeds"), not a quality.

³⁸ A curious parallel occurs in the earlier fifth-century commentary by Theodoret of Cyrillus on Daniel 1.13 (*PG* 81.4), which he cites (not from the Septuagint) as τὸ μὲν δοκοῦν σοι κελεύσεις, ἡμεῖς δὲ οὐκ ἀντιλέξομεν. Daniel and his companions ask their Babylonian keeper to feed them vegetables and check if they look worse than the meat eaters after ten days, when, "You will order what you decide and we will not argue against you." Here too the tone is politely sure of the outcome.

borne by a pharaoh of the XXVI dynasty, it may advertise pride in the antique pagan culture of Egypt.³⁹ Nechos is apparently not familiar with Euhemeria, for he has to be told that it has two watchtowers. For what it is worth, the villagers call it “our” village, not “your” village. On the other hand it is implied that Nechos’ father had some relationship with the villagers which Nechos has in some way inherited, perhaps recently. In the next two sections I will show that it is unlikely that Nechos was the owner of a large estate at Euhemeria, although it is plausible that his family had property in the area through which they may have had dealings with individual villagers. I will also argue that the basic dispute between Nechos and the villagers was about his attempt as *praepositus pagi* in the mid- to later 340s to enforce an imperial edict.⁴⁰

4. Village and villagers

Of the eight named villagers who sent *P.Ross.Georg.* 3.8 the first, Hatres, must be the Hatres whose name heads *P.Abinn.* 27, a letter to Abinnaeus, their *patron*, from some of or all the villagers of Euhemeria.⁴¹ All the letters in the Abinnaeus archive are undated, but this must date to his tenure at Dionysias from 342 to 351, and probably to the mid- to later 340s, to which all the dated petitions to him belong. Despite the loss of its left half the letter is clearly a complaint about abuses by an *exactor* with reference to a Ploutammon; this must be Ploutammon the *exactor* who himself sent the letters *P.Abinn.* 13-15 to Abinnaeus about problems encountered in his function as the civic official in charge of collection and delivery of the *annona militaris* in the area. In *P.Abinn.* 27.20-21 the villagers appear to have listed the items they claim had been wrongly sequestered. Because these were for military use they could appeal informally to Abinnaeus, who, they probably said, is the only helper they

³⁹ M. Depauw and W. Clarysse, “When a Pharaoh Becomes Magic,” *CÉ* 77 (2002) 55-64. There are now a few more certain Greek examples of the name to add to their list.

⁴⁰ Known *praepositi* of the eighth *pagus* of the Arsinoite are listed by T. Derda, Ἀρσινοίτης νομός: *Administration of the Fayum under Roman Rule* (Warsaw 2006) 277-278. Although the dating of *P.Sakaon* 35 and hence of the three *praepositi* it names could be later, there would still be room in the mid- to later 340s for Nechos, and also Atammon in *P.Abinn.* 18.16-18.

⁴¹ The hand is different from that of *P.Ross.Georg.* 3.8, which only means that a different scribe was used. In l. 2 from the online image I read Εὐημερίδης, a slip perhaps occasioned by the preceding Διονυσιάδος. Lines 1-4 may have read something like: [τῷ δεσπότῃ ἡμῶν καὶ πατρῶνι] Ἀβενέῳ πρε[ποσίτῳ στρατιωτῶν (?) κάστρων Δ]ιονυσιάδος Ἀτρίης | [καὶ Μέλας (?) καὶ οἱ πάντες ἀπὸ κώμης] Εὐημερίδης | [χαίρειν]. In ll. 17-18 I suggest restoring οὐκ ἔστιν ἡμῶν ἄλλ[λος βοηθός; cf. ll. 5-6 and *P.Abinn.* 34.7-9.

have, and they entreat him to act “so that we do not flee completely.” Of the other named villagers Apollon and Nilos are fairly certainly the Neilos and Apollon from Euhemeria who in *SB* 22.15782 of 347 (provenance unknown) contracted a sale in advance of two artabas of wheat and two artabas of vegetable seed to Petros, a deacon of the Arsinoite episcopal (catholic) church, presumably in Euhemeria or a nearby village. Abous is possibly the man to whom *SB* 6.9036 was issued, one of the ostraka bearing receipts for wheat found at Euhemeria.

The other fourth-century texts from or relating to Euhemeria add little information. The two other published ostraka, *O.Fay.* 42 and 43, attest a Hol and a Mouses. In *P.Sakaon* 73 of 328 an Ammonios of Euhemeria leases ten goats for two years from Sakaon. The undated *P.Sakaon* 53 and *SB* 16.13001 are scraps of summary lists of dike work and fiscal dues for a number of villages including Euhemeria, and *P.Fay.* 242 descr. is a lacunose receipt for 140 pounds of hay. *P.Fay.* 136, a lacunose letter with no names, is discussed below (sect. 5). *P.Fay.* 134 (with corrections) is a letter from Eudaimon to his “lord” Longinus asking him to bring the glassware (?) so they can close the account and some Mareotic wine for which he will pay; apparently Eudaimon is the local, and a man of modest wealth, perhaps an estate manager. *P.Fay.* 135 recto, written on the back of an earlier list of the Roman months equivalent to Egyptian ones (*P.Fay.* 135 verso), is a letter from Agathos to Naph “his father” urging him to make the payments due on the current harvest so that Agathos does not have to send soldiers and lock him up until he pays, and instructing him to hand over their “brother” to Gerontius on account of the money that Naph had given him since he (?) also owes some vegetable seed from last year. I suspect that Naph is the local agent of a tax-collecting official and Agathos his superior, perhaps even the Agathos *actuarius* of *P.Abinn.* 26 and other texts, but they seem also to have had private business interests in that the “brother” appears not to have delivered some vegetable seed that he had sold to them in advance. Just because *P.Fay.* 134 and 135 were found at the site of Euhemeria (135 on the surface) this does not prove that Eudaimon or Naph were based there. The absence of any good evidence for any large estate at fourth-century Euhemeria is obviously not conclusive, but what we have points to a small community of small farmers who appealed to Abinnaeus as their helper against the depredations of an *exactor*, which would have been odd if they were under the *patrocinium* of Nechos. An analogous situation at neighboring Theadelphia emerges from much richer documentation: by the 330s a single small holding by an Alexandrian family is attested, rented out for five years, and the village, which had once comprised over 5,000 arouras of farmland, had been reduced to 500 taxable arouras and a handful of residents. In contrast, the villages of

Theoxenis and Hermoupolis, nearby but higher up the vital canal network, still had holdings of several large landowners.⁴²

5. Taking liberties

In *P.Ross.Georg.* 3.8 the villagers focus on the way Nechos has tried to treat them, but the basic issue appears to have been his suspicion that they were sheltering outsiders, which they deny, “There is no outsider (*xenos*) in our village,” adding the question-begging claim that their neighborhood watch would spot any visitors.⁴³ Although it may be pure coincidence, in *P.Fay.* 136, a fragment of a letter found at the site of Euhemeria, the writer, perhaps a priest, beseeches his Christian addressees to return to their home places (*idia*) before someone compels them and they lose “grace” (*charis*). We know that finding and returning fugitives was a job of the *praepositus pagi* from *P.Cair. Isid.* 126 of around 308/9 in which the *praepositus* of the fifth *pagus* urges the *praepositus* of another *pagus* to hand over “all the outsiders” (*pantes hoi xenoï*) from Karanis and other villages of the fifth *pagus* who are in his area in accordance with the recent imperial edict (not preserved in the Codes) that seems to have set a public fine on communities for each outsider they tried to harbor.⁴⁴ Conversely *P.Cair.Isid.* 128, of 314, is a receipt to Isidoros as a police official of Karanis for handing over four of their fugitive villagers to a posse from the Memphite village of Buto. Government concern that villagers should stay in their home villages and discharge their local fiscal and liturgic obligations, and occasional drives to enforce the return of absentees, were common in earlier and later periods too, as exemplified by the edict of 154 by the prefect

⁴² Theadelphia: family of Rufina and Lampadius in *P.Sakaon* 40, 69, 70, 76; cf. n. 5 above. Theoxenis and Hermoupolis: *P.Abinn.* 47, 51, 52, 57, 67. So too the archive of Aurelius Isidoros gives no hint that fourth-century Karanis had a patron.

⁴³ This local policing was not new. In, for instance, *P.Fay.* 38 (II/III, found at Euhemeria) a centurion reminds the officials of neighboring Taurinou to patrol from their tower (*magdolon*) to the borders of epoikion Amminou, which was in the territory of Euhemeria (*P.Ryl.* 2.146.5-6).

⁴⁴ The editors take it as a reward of 5 *folles* (value uncertain), but other documents mention only fines (n. 47 below) and, as noted by E.G. Turner, *CR* 11 (1961) 153, their restoration and translation of ll. 6-7 are strained and implausible. In l. 7 I read, mostly following Turner, ἄνδρ(α) ἐ[ς λ]όγον προσίτου (l. προσίτου) εἰσενεγκὶν (there is not room for the *tau* in Turner’s προσ[τ]ι[σ]μου).

The words ending l. 6 remain a problem that Turner ignored; the fine would be levied on those who harbored them, not the fugitives. The editors’ suggestion of ὥρισ[θ]η may be on the right lines: “that all the outsiders who are found in the villages are to be valued (?) per man on account of the penalty to pay to the sacred treasury at five *folles*.”

M. Sempronius Liberalis and that of 710 by the governor Qurra bin Sharik.⁴⁵ The fourth-century cases, however, stand out for their frequency and intensity, and also direct imperial intervention, including the five edicts between 360 and 415 preserved in *C.Th.* 11.24 under the rubric *De patrociniis vicorum*, which specifically target absconded *coloni* who have found protection on the estates of large landowners. The earliest Egyptian attestation of this practice seems to be *P.Turner* 44 and *P.Sakaon* 44, a complaint by the villagers of Theadelphia to the prefect in 331/2 that some fugitive families from Theadelphia were being sheltered in the estate village (*epoikion Serenou*) in the Oxyrhynchite of a man called Eulogios, although some others were now farming “state” land in the Kynopolite nome. The reason for flight is made clear in many texts: it was to escape their ever-increasing share of the collective liability for their village’s taxes and liturgies, if it was underpopulated or in arrears, by making a new start in a new community. I note four points. First, that the problem of flight was undoubtedly worse in the fourth century than in the preceding three hundred years because of fiscal and other economic pressures. Second, that in response the state made an unusual, and not ineffective, effort to turn villages into closed communities, even though it could not stop the abandonment of marginal Fayyum villages with their exceptional irrigation problems. Third, that the fugitives termed *coloni* in these imperial edicts were, at least in Egypt, mostly not tenants but independent farmers in villages whose fiscal burdens were, for whatever reason, becoming particularly difficult. Fourth, that estate villages were one possible destination for fugitives, but most probably fled to other independent village communities that were happy to receive them to boost their manpower for filling liturgies and paying taxes. Apparently this larger amorphous phenomenon did not interest the compilers of the *Codex Theodosianus* although *P.Cair.Isid.* 126 shows that emperors had issued at least one edict specifically about it.

Lastly, I try to explain the villagers’ strong assertion that they have never “given their body” because they always do what is imposed, which I believe is linked to their resumptive statement that if Nechos takes away one of their children they will not appeal against him. The word “take away,” a part of *airein*, is also used in *P.Abin.* 20.12 of an unsatisfactory tax collector being “taken away” by officials to Arsinoe for questioning, and “argue against,” *antilegein*, is routinely used in the papyri of making a counter-claim in court. As suggested earlier, I do not take this to indicate that the villagers renounce opposition to Nechos if he arrests any of their children. It is a polite reminder that, if he does not back off as invited, they could appeal against him to higher authorities. It

⁴⁵ S. Strassi, *L’editto di M. Sempronius Liberalis* (Trieste 1988), with general discussion. SB 3.7241.

is unlikely that he has threatened to arrest one or more of their children as alleged outsiders, but probably as pledges against the fine that they would owe for each outsider they are harboring. This form of coercion is threatened against a tax collector in *P.Fay.* 135 recto (sect. 4 above) and is attested in other fourth-century texts.⁴⁶ Fines on communities or estates that try to conceal fugitives are attested in *P.Cair.Isid.* 126 of ca. 308/9 and also in later edicts and texts.⁴⁷ I can find no parallel in the papyri for the phrase “give” or “render their body” (*to soma didonai* or *parechein*) or any Latin equivalent in the Codes, so it is not a technical term. It is more specific than the vague *heauton didonai tini* (“to surrender oneself to another”) and may be connected to the use of *paradidonai* in the sense of “to hand over” for detention.⁴⁸ The term *to entagion* is also unusual. In Greek papyri of the Arab period it means a “fiscal demand,” which is how I take it here (“what is imposed”), but in Byzantine estate and fiscal documents it means “receipt.” I follow Bell in believing that the Arab-period sense, which is the more natural, reprises a previous usage for which *P.Ross.Georg.* 3.8 is another indication.⁴⁹ In light of the threat to arrest a youngster or two, the sentence is most simply understood as meaning that because the villagers of Euhemeria have each year discharged their communal fiscal obligations, they have never, including when Nechos’ father was *praepositus pagi*, surrendered a village member as surety for arrears or future payment and, implicitly, are not going to do so now.

On the other hand the villagers’ assertion may also be meant to remind Nechos that they are not bound by any personal obligation to his family. The

⁴⁶ E.g., *P.Flor.* 3.362: the assistant of a Hermopolite *praepositus pagi* around 345 (cf. *P.Lond.* 3.1246-1249) is instructed to round up some fugitive *komarchai* or he will be “handed over” to the protector for “violence” (*hubris*), presumably detention and a beating. Cf. also *P.Abinn.* 20.

⁴⁷ *C.Th.* 5.17.2 (386): 6 oz. gold per private tenant harbored, 1 lb. per imperial tenant; 5.17.3 (ca. 386/87): (prescribed) “fine”; 11.24.2 and 4 (370 or 368 and 399): 25 lbs. gold, then 40 lbs., per estate farm involved. In *BGU* 1.323 (AD 651; cf. *CPR* 24, p. 204, n. 12) the *meizon* of an Arsinoite hamlet swears to detain all “outside characters” (*xena prosopa*) on pain of a fine of 1.5 lbs. gold per fugitive.

⁴⁸ *WB* 2:241, meaning (3), “einen Menschen zwangsweise verführen,” as in *P.Flor.* 3.362 (n. 46 above). Epiphanius, *Panarion* 3.27 (written ca. 374-376) talks of Christian confessors who “gave their own body and soul for their master,” but our villagers are not talking of martyrdom.

⁴⁹ H.I. Bell, “The Arabic Bilingual Entagion,” *PAPhS* 89 (1945) 531-542. He cites (p. 534) *P.Giss.* 54.15 = *W.Chr.* 420 (IV/V) and *SB* 1.5273.10, 18 (487), and notes that the sense of “receipt” already appears in *P.Lips.* 1.58.13, 18 (337). Compare *ta epitassomena* in *PSI* 9.1081 (IV/V) discussed below.

praepositi of pagi were appointed from the wealthy landowners in each nome.⁵⁰ If Nechos owned property in nearby more prosperous villages, it is possible that individuals from Euhemeria had variously rented land there from his estate, or leased sheep or borrowed grain or money.⁵¹ Borrowing in particular could now lead to personal obligations. In *P.Sakaon* 35, a draft appeal to the governor, the three remaining villagers of Theadelphia, liable for the taxes on 500 arouras of land, say that “we sold themselves” and so managed to pay the dues on 200 arouras. The verb *katapolein* is an extremely rare form used in the later Roman papyri of selling people or animals, and “themselves” is presumably a slip for “ourselves.”⁵² This must mean that they borrowed on the security of their persons (clearly their land was not good security). I compare *P.Herm.* 7, a fourth-century letter asking Apa John for help avoiding enlistment; the writer says that to raise money for a bribe “I have already given my children as pledges to the moneylender for the gold.”⁵³ Pledging a free person was illegal under Roman law, but whether the state now ignored this, and what in practice “selling yourself” or “giving your or your children’s body” meant, are questions too complex for treatment here.⁵⁴

I do, however, want to compare two fourth- or early fifth-century letters from the Oxyrhynchite nome, both cited above because the addressee is called “patron.” In *PSI* 7.835, a man from a village where the “landowner” (*geouchos*) Chairemon owns property asks that the local *pronoetes* (estate manager) be instructed to give him 26 artabas of wheat to complete his tax payments, for

⁵⁰ E.g., the Ision *praepositus pagi* in 342-343 (*P.Sakaon* 46-48) is called “landowner” in *P.Abinn.* 28.

⁵¹ *Sakaon* of Theadelphia, e.g., owned land at Boubastos (*P.Sakaon* 68; cf. 70) and leased sheep and goats from various outsiders (*P.Sakaon* 40, 71-74).

⁵² No comment by Jouguet or Parássoglou. The three other cases of *katapolein* are: *BGU* 1.8.3.13 (III, lacunose); and, both from the archive of Aurelius Isidoros: *P.Cair.Isid.* 64.21-22 (ca. 298, slaves); *P.Mert.* 2.92.20 (324, animals; cf. *P.Cair.Isid.* 78.7, by auction). Presumably the villagers dictated “ourselves” and the scribe wrote “themselves.”

⁵³ Lines 16-17: ἤδη γὰρ τὰ τέκνα μου ἔδωκα{ς} ὑποθήκας | τῷ δανιστῇ{ς} διὰ τὸ χρυσάφι<ο>ν. See Gonis in this volume on the archive of Apa John.

⁵⁴ R. Taubenschlag, *The Law of Greco-Roman Egypt in the Light of the Papyri*² (Warsaw 1955) 74-75, opines that selling oneself or one’s children was a popular custom that Roman law had still not managed to eradicate by the fourth century. He cites four texts: *P.Sakaon* 35; *P.Lips.* 1.35.17 (better 34.16; both ca. 375-378), but in this the “dearest things” (*philtata*) not yet sold are probably objects rather than children; *P.Oxy.* 9.1206.10-11 (335), but this is a statement in a contract of adoption that selling freeborn children is illegal; and nothing earlier except *PSI* 5.549 (42/1 BC), a Ptolemaic contract of indefinite service. As H. J. Wolff, *ZRG* 83 (1966) 410-411, noted, “sale” seems to mean more than the temporary *paramone* contract of the Roman period, perhaps something more like the ancient Ptolemaic-period contract of indefinite service.

which he will pay cash or “draw up a draft,” possibly meaning a contract of loan but probably a payment order to a third person.⁵⁵ “For you know,” he adds, “that I have helped you in many affairs (*pragmata*).” In PSI 9.1081 a *pronoetes* informs Limenios, a large landowner known from other texts, that some men from the village of Paomis have come to his *epoikion*, wrongly thinking he was there, to borrow money at interest from him according to a contract that all the villagers had already drafted.⁵⁶ The estate manager recommends that Limenios make the loan because “already in the past they have been good at repaying what they have received, and they have never opposed us in discharging (?) all the impositions on them as regards landowning affairs.”⁵⁷ I note that the word used for “impositions,” *ta epitassomena*, is cognate to *entagion* of *P.Ross. Georg.* 3.8. In neither of these Oxyrhynchite cases is it evident or necessary that the borrowers are tenants of the landowner. In both cases they have been helpful in “landowning affairs,” implicitly when they could have been awkward. This can hardly mean paying rents, for which landlords had contractual sanctions, but must mean independent co-operation in the discharge of fiscal and liturgic dues that fell on the village communities, that is both large landowners and independent villagers. When they needed a loan of grain or cash to complete such payments, it was in the landowner’s interest to oblige because individually they were actual or potential laborers, tenants, lessees, borrowers, customers. The local landowner was an obvious source for villagers needing a loan, but not the only one as contemporary Arsinoite documents attest.⁵⁸ The

⁵⁵ Text as in *PSI Corr.* 1, pp. 11–26, with Bagnall (n. 23) 216, n. 42, on the date. For *typon typounta*, see Rathbone (n. 2) 325–326.

⁵⁶ *P.Oxy.* 14.1753 (390); *PSI* 8.884 (391); *P.Oxy.* 51.3639 (412), which reveals he was *vir clarissimus*, i.e., of senatorial rank; *P.Oslo* 2.35 (426), with *ZPE* 141 (2002) 159–161; perhaps *SB* 14.12077 (IV/V).

⁵⁷ Lines 15–19: οὐδέποτε γὰρ ἀντέστη|σαν ἡμῖν πάντα τὰ ἐπιτατ'όμενα | αὐτοῖς τοῖς γεουχικοῖς πράγμασι | ο . . . οἱ ἐνκίμενοι τ[ῷ] γραμματιῷ | ἔχοντες ε . [. . . It is not clear where the sentence breaks, but the *grammation* of l. 18 is presumably the same *grammation* (contract of loan) of ll. 8–9 that the villagers have drafted; maybe “they have never opposed us . . . (that is) the men specified in the contract” (which may have begun “X and Y and Z and all the men of Paomis”). The text is discussed by Bagnall (n. 23) 214–215, who supposes that “all” the villagers means all who are tenants of Limenios and then paints a colorful picture of their abject dependency, which at 218, n. 51, after discussing *P.Ross. Georg.* 3.8, he suggests we are conditioned not to recognize. Note, however, that the villagers did intend to deal directly with the *geouchos*, and that his *pronoetes* does not “plead” for them but gives his local advice that they are a good risk for the trifling sum (“a few small coins”) asked.

⁵⁸ E.g., from Euhemeria and Theadelphia only, including sales in advance: *SB* 22.15782; *P.Sakaon* 56, 64–66, 94, 95, 98.

independence of the villagers, and also their caution, is shown in the men of Paomis drafting the loan contract themselves, and the other writer presenting his borrowing as a purchase. Defaulting on loans from a powerful man was dangerous, but the risks of small-scale borrowing in prosperous communities were acceptable.

There is, of course, much more evidence for the relationship between large estates and villagers in fourth-century Egypt. There are other historical topics for which there is much to squeeze from the fourth-century Arsinoite texts as detailed regional case studies, such as the interaction between civil and military authorities, the systems of military supplies and recruitment, the structure of village communities, the spread of Christianity and the church, the use of documents (extensive, even for piffling transactions), the increasing Latinisms in vocabulary, of which *patron* is one example. As regards the question of the patronage of villages in the fourth century, I hope I have shown that some of the texts used to argue for it do not provide proof, even if papyrologists will note with wry amusement that each of three central texts has an unreadable or uncertain phrase at the crucial point.⁵⁹ There is no sign yet in Egypt of the colonate as it is normally understood; instead the papyri may support the idea that a more strictly enforced tie to fiscal origin rather than changes in tenancy was the root of that.⁶⁰ Patronage of dying villages like Euhemeria and Theadelphia would hardly have been attractive, but although it is possible that it existed in more prosperous areas, the sole apparently overt case is the Oxyrhynchite *epoikion* of Eulogios, and even there all we know is that he harbored some fugitives, not what the position of his workers was. To me, looking at the fourth century from knowledge of the third-century Appianus estate, there is nothing novel in Eulogios' *epoikion* or in Chairemon and Limenios making loans to independent villagers through their local estate managers. More insidious are the signs of a gradual erosion of personal liberty. An insecure state apparatus whose higher officials resort to detaining and beating their own agents, even those of some status, creates a climate in which the same wealthy men who fill the public offices feel free in their private business to treat defaulters in the same way. Against aggressive and competing civilian and military hierarchies and wealthy landowners seeking to gain land and labor, the only defense of independent villagers was not patronage but solidarity. Hence in *P.Ross.Georg.*

⁵⁹ *P.Ross.Georg.* 3.8.17-18; *P.Cair.Isid.* 126.6-7; *PSI* 9.1081.18-19.

⁶⁰ Cf. C. Grey, "Contextualizing *colonatus*: The *origo* of the Late Roman Empire," *JRS* 97 (2007) 155-175, but still, following the Codes (no papyri are discussed), focused on tenants. P. Sarris, *Economy and Society in the Age of Justinian* (Cambridge 2006) 183-193, recites the traditional view of the rise of *patrocinium* in the fourth century with no reference to the papyri.

3.8 all the men of Euhemeria wrote to Nechos and in *PSI* 9.1081 all the men of Paomis signed the loan contract with Limenios. So too in *SB* 20.14954 the villagers of Philadelphia (?) ask the community (*koinon*) of the village of Neiloupolis (?) to arrange the return of some sheep stolen by some of their young men because they have always been “brothers;” if they will not, the Philadelphians are ready to petition the authorities to punish them. The very writing of the letter implies that the Philadelphians themselves wish to avoid the dangers of involving the authorities.⁶¹ Solidarity needs leadership: Hatres of Euhemeria, like Sakaon of Theadelphia, was wily and persistent, but ultimately the local problems faced by Euhemeria and Theadelphia were too great, and they could not turn back the sands that have preserved their memory.

⁶¹ Cf. also *P.Abinn.* 66.31-32 and 67.9-10, wheat payments by the *koina* of Andromachis and Hermoupolis.

P. Lips. inv. 250 and 260 Two 10th/11th-Century Coptic Texts¹

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Abstract

This paper presents a tentative edition of two late Coptic documentary texts from the Fayyûm, both of which indicate Coptic-Arabic language contact in 10th/11th-century Egypt.

The present writer has not had the privilege of being taught by or working with the honorand of this Festschrift. He shares a number of interests with him, however, such as the interrelationships between language and law in legal documents,² the impact of indigenous genres on the shape and composition of documentary texts,³ and the history of the late antique and early medieval Fayyûm.⁴ It is this last subject, in fact, for which the present paper is relevant.

The two late Coptic documents that are offered here in a first and, of necessity, very provisional, edition share a few traits. To begin with, both are

¹ The permission to publish P.Lips. inv. 250 and 260 was granted by the *Papyrussammlung* of the University Library of the University of Leipzig and its curator, Prof. Reinhold Scholl, who also kindly provided me with photographs. My friend Eitan Grossman (Hebrew University, Jerusalem) was kind enough to improve the English of this paper; I also owe a number of valuable comments to him. Georg Schmelz (Heidelberg) and Boris Liebrecht (Leipzig) read a draft of this paper and helped me with some good suggestions. Abbreviated works cited are listed at the end of this paper.

² Cf. most recently James Keenan, "Roman Law in Greek Documents," in *Law and Justice in Egypt from Alexander to the Arab Conquest 332 BC – 640 AD* (Cambridge, in press).

³ Cf., e.g., James Keenan, "A Constantinople Loan, A. D. 541," *BASP* 29 (1992) 175-189.

⁴ Cf., e.g., James Keenan, "Egyptian Villages in the 13th Century: Al-Nabulsi's *Tarikh al-Fayyum*," in *Les villages dans l'empire et le monde byzantin* (Réalités byzantines 11, Paris 2005) 567-576; *idem*, "Deserted Villages: From the Ancient to the Medieval Fayyum," *BASP* 40 (2003) 119-139.

currently kept in the papyrus collection of the Library of the University of Leipzig, and both were purchased by that institution from the German *Papyruskartell* in one acquisition and sent in one shipment, as is documented in the acquisition catalogue.⁵ Apart from these external and possibly rather insignificant⁶ traits, the two pieces have some more specific features in common. They are both written on small strips of paper and, on account of this and by means of palaeographical criteria,⁷ can reasonably be dated to the later tenth or eleventh century.

P.Lips. inv. 260 is written in a variety of the Fayyûmic dialect of Coptic, clearly indicating its origin in the Fayyûm region, while the idiom of P.Lips. inv. 250 is based on the Sahidic dialect, possibly indicating another provenance.⁸

⁵ The entry runs like this: "Ankauf: Mohammed Chalil. Sendung v[om] Juni 1907. Fayûm." According to the same source, the delivery was accompanied by a control slip that subsumed both of our pieces under the same number 45, specified as 45/I in the case of P.Lips. inv. 250 and 45/II in the case of P.Lips. inv. 260 and several other items, viz. P.Lips. inv. 237, a short Sahidic papyrus document of the ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΠΕΡΙΟΧΩΝ type that seems to be connected to the Bawit monastery (cf. *P.Mon.Apollo*, p. 16; S. Clackson, *Am.Stud.Pap.* 43, and *P.Bru.x.Bawit*, pp. 147-157); P.Lips. inv. 263, possibly an account, written on paper; P.Lips. inv. 264, a private letter in Sahidic Coptic written on papyrus; and P.Lips. inv. 265, also a papyrus letter in Sahidic.

⁶ Cf. below, n. 8.

⁷ The type of handwriting appearing in P.Lips. inv. 250 and 260 may be compared with tenth- and eleventh-century non-literary hands of the letters from the so-called Teshlot archive (paper, mid-eleventh century; cf. Green 1983) and to the hands of the unpublished alchemical treatise Bodl. Ms. a.1 (papyrus, ca. tenth century), *P.Fay.Copt.* 16 (papyrus, ca. tenth century), the unpublished account book BL Or. 13885 (paper, mid-eleventh century), and some of the recently discovered paper documents from Dêr el-Naqlûn (tenth/eleventh century; cf. Urbaniak-Walczak 1999). It is a kind of documentary style that more or less derives from book hands of the sloping uncial type (cf. Stegemann, 23-24).

⁸ The presence of Sahidic material among the items in Mohammed Chalil's "Sendung" (n. 5 above) raises the suspicion that even if their point of departure (and probably the place where the papyri were sold) was in the Fayyûm, some of the items originated elsewhere. But the issue is more complicated. One has to remember the case of *P.Fay.Copt.* In this collection, only 22 of the 56 pieces are written in a proper Fayyûmic dialect (cf. p. vii). This is all the more striking as Flinders Petrie, the director of the excavations, is quoted by Crum as follows: "I never had any occasion to suspect any outside admixture. Most of the Hammam pieces had evidently just been dug up; certainly they had never passed through a dealer's hand. The Hawara papyri were all found, scrap by scrap, by my own workmen. There were no circumstances to suggest in the least that these were found elsewhere or imported." Crum himself had to confess, "In explanation of this remarkable variety of dialects, no very satisfactory theory can be advanced" (*P.Fay.Copt.*, p. viii).

What makes these documents particularly interesting is their evidence for linguistic borrowing from Arabic,⁹ that is to say, for language contact between contemporary speakers of Coptic and Arabic in the Fatimid Fayyûm and elsewhere in Egypt. This evidence is not too conspicuous in the case of P.Lips. inv. 260, a private letter, but large parts of the text of P.Lips. inv. 250 consist of a sequence of Arabic loanwords.¹⁰

And yet it is not just the occasional occurrence of non-Coptic vocabulary that gives a Coptic philologist accustomed to literary and earlier non-literary Coptic the uncomfortable feeling of grappling with an idiom that is alien. Rather, it is the general linguistic manifestation of such late Coptic documents, their non-standard orthography in an idiom that is fairly remote from common literary Coptic, that makes them even less comprehensible than other Coptic documentary texts, and that accounts for their difficulty and, accordingly, the imperfect state of the *editiones principes* presented here. The present author nonetheless is confident that a scholar whose merits are in no small degree rooted in his inexhaustible curiosity about matters lying beyond the obvious will be honored by a piece of work devoted to a widely unknown and still poorly understood type of source.

1. *P.Lips. inv. 250: List(s) of items relating to a journey (?) and unrelated (?) account(s)*

Paper; height 29.5 cm, width 6.7–7.0 cm. The recto side (initially marked by CΥN^ⲑ) has fifteen lines altogether. Lines 1-11 are written in a gray ink. Some words have been crossed out in the same black ink in which ll. 12-15 of the recto are written. The verso side has thirteen lines altogether. Nine of them are written (upside down in relation to the recto text) in a third, dark grayish-brown ink, perhaps by two hands. Another four lines, running perpendicular to the

⁹ Cf. Richter 2006. A glossary of Arabic words in Coptic texts is being prepared by the author.

¹⁰ Eitan Grossman would even go so far as to speak of *relexification*. To quote from his e-mail of 15 March 2008: “What this text appears to exhibit is an almost entirely complete relexification. This concept is usually found in language contact literature in the context of pidginization and creolization, but it can also be tied to the phenomenon of language attrition ... and language shift. It is especially telling that all of the grammemes (‘function words’) are in Coptic, while the lexemes are in Arabic.” I would agree in principle, although with some hesitation, given the fact that the “text” of P.Lips. inv. 250 is not a real text and perhaps not a mirror of real speech, and we can only speculate about the criteria for and function of the words listed. On language loss and language shift in Coptic speakers, cf. most recently Papaconstantinou 2007 and Richter forthc.

nine, have been added by an additional hand in a fourth, light grayish-brown ink. All parts of the text seem to be complete.

To comprehend the text(s) of P.Lips. inv. 250, it is important to come to terms with its/their “structure” and “composition,” simple as they may seem.

Recto ll. 1-15 and verso ll. 1-4, although not having the appearance of lists, are such in so far as they consist almost exclusively of nouns in sequence. These nouns are usually determined by the Coptic articles Π- (m. sg.), Τ- (f. sg.) and Ν- (pl.), and in fact, it is the use of these articles, rather than the nouns themselves, that require us to identify the language as Coptic (cf. n. 10 above). One or two of these nouns may not be juxtaposed asyndetically but coordinated attributively to the preceding word; this is open to interpretation. The word ΔCΠΠΠ in line 11 of the recto seems to be introduced by the preposition Μῒ- (spelled ΜΕ-) “and,” indicating the last item listed (at that moment).

The list of recto ll. 1-11 has obviously been updated by its writer, since he crossed out six items on it and added four new ones in recto ll. 12-15 in a different black ink. (Two of these new items, however, were already present in the first list.)

The items listed in ll. 1-4 of the verso also seem to belong to this (“first”) hand, but the different ink suggests a later addition (this despite the fact that half of the recto was empty when the writer turned to the verso). The item ΝΑΛΔΑΡΔΚΕ ΝΔ†ΜΙΚΣ in ll. 3-4 of the verso is coordinated by ΔΥΩ “and,” once again indicating the last item listed.

In l. 5 of the verso, although it is not indicated by any kind of marker, two changes occur. First, there seems to be another hand at work (although the ink seems to be the same variety used already in ll. 1-4). Second, and more strikingly, the structure of the text becomes different. Lines 5-9 of the verso are no longer a mere “list” but an “account,” in so far as every line starts with a mention of some person(s) by name or *métier* and ends with an amount of money or some other commodity.

This new structure also holds true in ll. 10-13 of the verso, which are written perpendicularly and by a third, more skilled hand, in a fourth ink.

It is not entirely clear which one of the two “columns” on the verso, the one running vertically (ll. 1-9) or the one running horizontally (ll. 10-13), was written first. In any case, the “point of departure” for both of them – roughly the middle of the paper strip – seems to indicate that the piece was folded at the time of composition. A still visible fold running ca. 0.5 cm above the first line of the vertical text (l. 1) is crossed by the last line of the horizontal text (l. 13). This observation, as well as the fact that ll. 1-4 are in the first (recto) hand, would seem to speak in favor of the order presented in this edition.

Recto

(first ink [gray], first hand)

- 1 CYN^Θ
- 2 ~~ΤΑΛΛΟΡ~~ ΤΑ
- 3 ΡΩCΜΕ ΝΕΠΟΡ
- 4 ΕΤC ΤΑCΟΥΤΕ
- 5 Τ[Λ]Α[Κ]ΑΚΑCΑΕ ΝΑ
- 6 ΛΧΕΠΡΙΤ
- 7 ΠΑΤΑΠΑΚ ΠΜ
- 8 ΗΡΕ ΤΚΑΒΑ
- 9 ΠΑΛΑΤΑΖΑCΘ
- 10 ΕΡΗΤΒΟΘΗC
- 11 ΜΕΠΑCΗΠΗ

(second ink [black], first hand)

- 12 ΠΑΛΧΕΡΝΗΠ
- 13 ΝΑΛΚΑΡΑΠΕ
- 14 ΝΑΛΚΑCΑΕ
- 15 ΝΕΠΟΡΕΤC

Verso

Vertical (but upside down in relation to recto text)

(third ink [dark grayish-brown], first hand?)

- 1 ΟΥΑΡΩΡ . ΝΑΜΩ
- 2 Μ . [.] . [Ο]ΥCΘΕC
- 3 ΠΝΖ ΑΥΩ ΝΑΛΑΑ
- 4 ΡΑΚΕ ΝΑΤΜΙΚC

(same ink, second hand?)

- 5 CΟΥCΙΝΕ ΝΟΥCΙ γ
- 6 ΠΕΠΙΚΟΠΟC Ν . ^ο
- 7 Θ . ΝΑΛ
- 8 Κ . ΤΩΝ . .
- 9 ΝΕΠΙΚΟΠΟC β

Horizontal

(fourth ink [light greyish-brown], third hand)

- 10 ΠΔΛΒΩΚΔΕΙ ι [.]^οΥ ΜΟΥΤΔΖΔΡ
 11 ΤΖΙΜΕ ΘΕΥΤΩΡΔΚΕ ΝΣ ΟΥΖΟΙ[Τ]Ε
 12 ΠΖΔΥΝΟΥÇ ΠΙΖΔΤ ΟΥΚΔΛΙΚΕΝ
 13 ΔΠΟΥÇΩΡΩΡ ΝΟΥÇ ι

Recto

5 Τ[Λ]Δ[Κ]ΛΚΔΔΕ: Τ is corrected from λ, Δ is corrected from Κ, i.e., the scribe initially omitted Δ in error.

9 ΔÇΩÇΠ: The form of Ω with final stroke separated from the letter's body is clear in ΔΥΩ (verso, l. 3).

10 ΤΒΩΩΝΕ: ΤΒΟΟΥΝΕ is the other possible reading.

Verso

1 ΟΥΔΡΩΡ . ΝΔΜΩ: Distinctive traces of the missing sign between Ρ and Ν are extant, but I cannot identify them with any letter. I first thought of the bipartite shape of Κ, but all occurrences of this letter consume much more space than available in the gap here. The form of Ε sometimes written with an unconnected dot instead of the upper curve (cf., e.g., recto, l. 3) might not fit very well but should be kept in mind.

4 ΝΔ†ΜΙΚΡΣ: Traces of Δ sure by autopsy. Possibly read ΝΔ†ΜΙΚΡΙ?

10 ι [.]^οΥ: Probably one (small) letter lost in the gap.

11 ΝΣ: Another possibility is ΗΣ.

12 ΠΙΖΔΤ: It is not clear if the traces are to be reconstructed this way, but it does produce a satisfying result. Another possibility: . ΠΙΖΔΤ.

“[Recto] (1) With G(od) (σὺν θεῷ)! (2) ~~The saddlebag~~ (*al-ḥurǧ*)^a, the (3) bundle (*al-ruẓma*)^b, the ser- (4) vants (ὕπηρέτης)^c, the food supplies (?) (*az-zuwwāda*?)^d, (5) the bowl (*al-qaṣa*)^e for (? – or the)(6) sulphur (*al-kibrīt*)^f, (7) ~~the plate~~ (*al-ṭabaq*)^g, (8) the bundle^h, ~~the wickerwork~~ (?)ⁱ, (9) ~~the tool~~ (*al-adāh*)^j of brass (? – *aṣ-ṣufr*)^k, (10) the ~~—~~, (11) ~~and the raisins~~ (*az-zibīb*)^m. (12) (*ink* 2) The basin (?)ⁿ, (13) the bottles (*al-qarrāba* – or the relatives [*al-qarāba*])^o, (14) the bowl (*al-qaṣa*)^p, (15) the servants (ὕπηρέτης)^q, [Verso] (1) (*ink* 3) a ... (2) ..., a bread (?)^r, (3) the oil, and the saddle (4) blankets (*al-arrāqa*)^s of damask (*al-dimišqy*)^t. (5) (*2nd hand*?) Sousine: 3 gold (*dinār*?)^u. (6) The Bishop (ἐπίσκοπος): ... (7) ... (8) ... (9) The Bishops (ἐπίσκοπος): 2. (10) (*ink* 4, *3rd hand*, oriented at 90°) The brewer (*al-fuqāʿy*)^v: 10 (?) ..., pure [*muṭahhar*])^w. (11) The carriage (or wife?)^w of Theodorake, ... :

a robe. (12) The gold- and (?) silversmith: a boot (καλίγιον)^x. (13) Abûsôrôry: Gold, 10.”

^a *al-ḥurġ*: Wahrmund 1898, 1.2:582, has for both *ḥarġ* and *ḥurġ* “Bodenertrag, Einkommen, (häusl.) Ausgaben, Kosten,” and *ibid.* s.v. *ḥurġ* also “Mantelsack, Reisetasche;” but Hinds and Badawi 1986, 244b, have “yield, essence, turnout, produce” only s.v. *ḥarġ*, while at 245a s.v. *ḥurġ* they give only “cloth saddlebag,” as Wehr 1971, 232, s.v. *ḥarġ*: “expenditure, outlay, expense(s), costs ... (eg[*yptian*]) ration (food),” *ibid.* s.v. *ḥurġ*, “saddlebag, portmanteau.” So also Spiro 1895, 164, s.v. *ḥarġ*, “ration, food allowance,” *ibid.* s.v. *ḥurġ*, “saddle-bag.” In any case, the use of the feminine article T- is striking because the Coptic article usually corresponds to the gender in the Arabic source language; the change in gender here might be due to the existence of a Coptic feminine noun of the same or similar meaning (see Richter 2006, 498). The masculine Π-ΔΛΧΟΥΡΕΣ in the Fayyūmic account book BL Or. 13885 could well be a counterpart to our ΔΛΧΩΡΣ.

^b *al-ruẓma*: Wehr 1971, 337a, s.v. *al-rizma*, “bundle, bale, pack, parcel, package, ream (of paper);” Hinds and Badawi 1986, 335a, “1 ream (of paper). 2 skein.” The Coptic feminine article, normally indicating feminine gender in the Arabic word (cf. previous note), speaks in favor of the word division ΤΑΡΟΜΕ (Ε corresponding with *tā’ marbūṭa*) and against the word division ΤΑΡΩC ΜΕ-Η- “the Arōs and the...” ΔΡΩC < *al-rūz* “rice” is actually attested once in Coptic, and has been recorded in Crum, *Dict.* 15b (not aware of the Arabic origin of the word).

^c ὑπηρέτης: Förster, *WB* 834.

^d *az-zuwwāda*: Dozy 1881, 1:611b, “Proviant;” Hinds and Badawi 1986, 385b, “provisions taken on long trips;” Spiro 1895, 243a, “provisions for a journey.” The Coptic spelling raises doubts that this word is actually meant.

^e *al-qaṣ’a*: Wahrmund 1898, 1.2:496, “Trog, Speiseschüssel, Wagschale;” Wehr 1971, 769a, “large bowl (made of wood or copper); (*ir[aqi]*) kettle;” Hinds and Badawi 1986, 704b, “bowl or basin without a base (especially that used to carry mortar);” Spiro 1895, 490, “large wooden plate.”

^f *kabrīt*: Hinds and Badawi 1986, 732b, “sulphur;” Siggel 1950, 86a; a word fairly well-attested in Coptic alchemical and medical texts, where it is spelled ΔΛΧΙΠΡΙΤ or (ΔΛ)ΧΙΠΡΙΘ.

^g *ṭabaq*: Hinds and Badawi 1986, 531b, “plate, dish;” Spiro 1895, 321, “plate.”

^h ΠΜΗΡΕ: The dictionaries (Crum, *Dict.* 182a; Westendorf, *Kopt. Handwörterbuch* 99) distinguish a masculine form ΜΗΡ from a feminine form ΜΗΡΕ of the same meaning, but this distinction may be neutralized in late Coptic. Otherwise Ε must be interpreted as a spelling of the genitive marker Ν- (the bundle of the wickerwork [?]) or as the initial vowel of the relative converter ΕΤ-, on the assumption that the remaining ΚΑΒΔ is a verbal expression – but what verbal expression might it be? It does not look like a Coptic verb; I am not aware of possible Greek verb (something like καβᾶν); and I do not dare to consider an Arabic loan-verb (such as *qawwa* “to strengthen,” *qāfa* “to send”), although a few cases of verb borrowing from Arabic to Coptic are attested (cf. Richter 2006, 498).

ⁱ ΚΑΒΔ: See the preceding note; possibly to be connected with the Bohairic hapax ΚΑΒΔΙ (Crum, *Dict.* 99a)? It is tempting to identify ΚΑΒΔ with the Arabic word *qahwa*, “coffee,” which would correspond well with the Coptic spelling (Κ regularly representing *q*, Β sometimes representing *w*; cf. Richter 2006, 297; feminine gender), but all other Arabic words in the text have the Arabic article *al*-, and in any case, the culture of coffee is generally thought to have spread in the eastern Mediterranean shortly before the 14th century (and centuries later in Europe).

^j *adāh*: Hinds and Badawi 1986, 12b, “instrument, piece of equipment;” Wehr 1971, 10b, “tool, instrument, utensil, implement, device, appliance” (but Spiro 1923, 10b, transcribed *idāt*, and Spiro 1895, 7b, recorded only the plural form *adawāt*, “articles, materials, utensils”).

^k *ṣufr*: Wehr 1971, 517b, “brass (< yellow);” rather not *ibid.*, 518a, s.v. *ṣafr*, *ṣifr*, *ṣufr*, “empty, void, devoid,” or *ṣafar*, the second month of the Muslim year.

^l ΤΒΟΥΝΕ: I cannot find a Coptic solution for this word, nor is the Arabic word *wašna/wišna* (Wehr 1971, 1071b, “morello, mahaleb cherry;” Hinds and Badawi 1986, 941, “sour cherry, morello cherry”) a solution, if Spiro 1923, 502a, is correct: “T(aken) from Slavonic.”

^m *zibīb*: Hinds and Badawi, 1986, 364, “1 /coll/ raisin(s) ... 2 spirit distilled from raisins;” Spiro 1895, 246a, “*raisins* ... *ʿaraqy zibyb* native whisky made of raisins” (likewise Spiro 1923, 203b); Wehr 1971, 372b (s.v. *zabīb*), “dried grapes, raisins; (*eg[yptian]*) a strong colorless liquor made of raisins, milky white when diluted with water.”

ⁿ ΔΧΕΡΝΙΠ: Georg Schmelz draws my attention to the Greek χέρνιβον/ χερνιβέιον (LSJ 1988b), “vessel for water to wash the hands, basin,” which might have been Arabized: the same word spelled ΔΛΧΕΡΝΙΠ is attested in

P.Ryl.Copt. 243.35, a 11th/12th-century text listing clothes, tools, and vessels. Cf. also *karnīb* Dozy 1881, 2:469, “gourde” (< χέρνιψ). Warhmund 1898, 2:572, s.v. *karnīb*, has “Speise aus Milch und Datteln;” cf. Hinds and Badawi 1986, 745b (s.v. pl. *kurumb*), and Spiro 1923, 374, “cabbage(s).”

° (ΔΛ)ΚΑΡΑΠΕ: Either *qarāba* (Hinds and Badawi 1986, 690b, “kindred, relatives;” Spiro 1895, 481a, “kinship;” Wehr 1971, 754, “relation, relationship, kinship”) or *qarrāba* (Wahrmund 1898, 1.2:471, “Flasche;” properly *ḡarrāba*; cf. Dozy and Engelmann 1869, 274).

^p *qaṣ̣a*: See note *e*.

^q Cf. note *c*.

^r ΔΟΕΔ: The Coptic word ΔΑΔΕ, “(a kind of) bread?”

^s *arrāqa*: Hinds and Badawi 1986, 574a, “saddle blanket;” Dozy 1881, 2:120b, “feutre employé sous les selles des chevaux.” Dozy 1881, 2:120, s.v. *arrāqa*, “suée, inquiétude, crainte,” seems less likely.

^t *dimišqy*: The meaning (“from Damascus”) seems to fit fairly well, but not the written form (š = Coptic Ψ!).

^u *fūq(q)āy*: Dozy 1881, 2:282a, “brasseur;” Wahrmund 1898, 1.2:424a, “Bierschenk.”

^v *muṭahhar*: Wahrmund 1898, 2:832a, “gereinigt, rein;” Spiro 1923, 279 “purified, disinfected.” It seems not to be a term usually occurring in reference to coins or money, cf. Grohmann 1954, 181-219; Bates 1991.

^w ΤΖΙΜΕ: “The carriage” rather than a spelling of ΤCΖΙΜΕ, “the wife.” For ΘΕΥΤΩΡΑΚΕ, cf. *NB Kopt.* 34.

^x καλίγιον: From the Latin *caliga*, cf. Förster, *WB* 368, indicating Coptic spellings such as ΓΑΛΙΓΕΝ, ΚΑΛΙΓΕΝ, ΚΑΛΙΚΕΝ, ΚΑΛΙΚΝ.

^y ΔΠΟΥCΩΡΩΡ: A personal name; cf. *NB Kopt.* 5 (ΔΒΟΥCΩΡΩΡ) and 6 (ΔΒΩCΩΡΩΡ).

2. *P.Lips. inv. 260: Private letter in non-standard late Fayyūmic*

Paper, height 13.5 cm, width 5.5–6.0 cm. The recto preserves a private letter in seventeen lines; the verso, a postscript, apparently, to this text in three lines and, at 180°, the external address in three lines. Traces of folds suggest the manner in which the letter was folded originally: One vertical fold divides the strip into sections of 2.5 and 3.5 cm. Seven horizontal folds yield (from

the top, where the folding started, to bottom) eight segments: 1.3 cm, 1.4 cm, 1.5 cm, 1.7 cm, 1.8 cm, 1.9 cm, 2.0 cm (this segment contains the address), and 1.8 cm.

For Coptic letters in general cf. Richter 2008, providing additional bibliographic information. The handwriting resembles that of (the Fayyûmic) *P.Fay. Copt.* 16 (see pl. 4), which is written on papyrus and should therefore be dated to the 10th century. Beyond the opening and closing formulae, it is primarily the conjunction ⲁⲗⲁ, “and,” that indicates the syntactic/semantic segmentation of the text – the complete meaning of which eludes me.

Recto

- 1 ⲗⲉⲙⲕⲉⲛ ⲉⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧ
- 2 ⲧⲱⲛⲓ ⲕⲁⲕ Ⲓⲁ
- 3 ⲕⲱⲥ ⲁⲗⲁ ⲗⲉⲓ
- 4 ⲧⲟⲩ: Ⲓⲓⲧⲛⲁⲣⲓ ⲁⲓ
- 5 ... ⲟⲩⲁⲧⲟⲩ ⲛⲉⲕ
- 6 ⲁⲗⲁ ⲁⲕⲃ... ⲁ
- 7 ⲟⲥ ⲗⲁⲕⲱⲕ
- 8 ⲧⲁⲕⲁⲟⲩⲙⲕⲓ
- 9 ⲛⲉⲒⲁⲕⲟⲩ ⲛⲉ
- 10 ⲧⲁⲉⲓ ⲛⲉⲕ ⲡⲓⲗⲁ
- 11 ⲁⲗⲁ ⲡⲁⲩ Ⲓⲓⲧⲛⲁ-
- 12 ⲣⲓ ⲕⲗⲃ ⲁⲗⲁ
- 13 ⲁⲧⲛⲉⲓⲱ ⲛⲉⲓ
- 14 ⲗⲉⲧ ⲁⲗⲁ ⲣ^α ⲁ ⲡⲁⲥ
- 15 ⲥⲁⲕ ⲧⲱⲛⲓ ⲕⲁⲕ
- 16 Ⲓⲁⲕⲱⲥ ⲟⲩⲭⲉⲓ ⲗⲉⲙ
- 17 ⲭⲁⲓⲥ

Verso

In the middle of the strip

- 1 ⲁⲗⲁ ⲡⲉⲣⲱⲱⲛ
- 2 ⲧⲁⲁⲃ ⲛⲉⲓ ⲙⲉ ⲃⲓⲕ
- 3 ⲓⲁⲙⲓⲛ

Address, at 180°

- | | | | | |
|---|-----------|-------|---|--------|
| 4 | ⲧⲉⲓⲥ ⲥⲓ | vacat | 7 | ⲗⲓⲧⲉⲛ |
| 5 | ⲣⲓ ⲥⲓⲥⲓⲛⲓ | vacat | 8 | ⲁⲣⲭⲏⲕⲁ |
| 6 | ...: Ⲓⲉⲃ | vacat | 9 | ⲡⲉⲃⲥⲁⲛ |

Recto

5 . . . : It is not clear if the signs here were erased by the scribe or disappeared later due to abrasion. It is striking that $\lambda\iota$ - at the end of l. 4 may be linked to $\text{OY}\Delta\text{TOY}$ in l. 5, and, accordingly, tempting to opt for the first alternative.

12 $\chi\lambda\beta$: The letter read as β looks rather like κ , which, however, would be difficult following $\chi\lambda$.

Verso

4 $\text{T}\Theta\text{I}\zeta$: Or read $\text{T}\Theta\text{I}\beta$?

6 . . . : $\Gamma\Theta\beta$: It is not clear to me how to integrate this line.

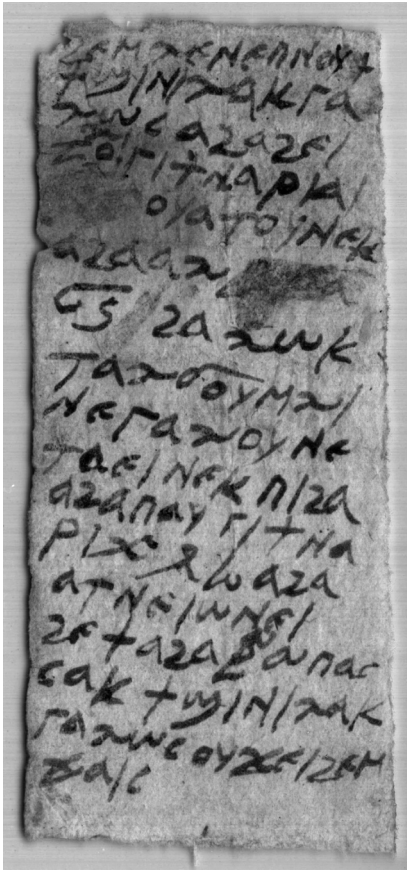
“[Recto] (1) In the name of God!^a (2) I greet thee well! (3) And lo^b, (4) 370 (?)^c *centenaria*^d, I have (5) sent them to you^e, (6) as well as Alb[...]^a (*al-f* . . . *a*) (7) 206^f for your mouth (?)^g. (8) The total (*al-ḡumla*)^h (9) of ...ⁱ, those which (10) will come^j to you, at that day^k (11) and today, (is) *centena-* (12) *ria*^l 632 (?)^m and (13) ...ⁿ (14) ...^o and 101 (?)^p ... (15) ...^q I greet thee (16) well: Farewell in the (17) Lord!^r

[Verso] (1) And (as to) the cloak, (2) let it come^s to me together with Ben- (3) jamin! (External address) (4) Give it to Siri^u (5) (son of?) Sisini^v (6) ...^w! (7) From (8) Archêla^x, (9) his brother.”

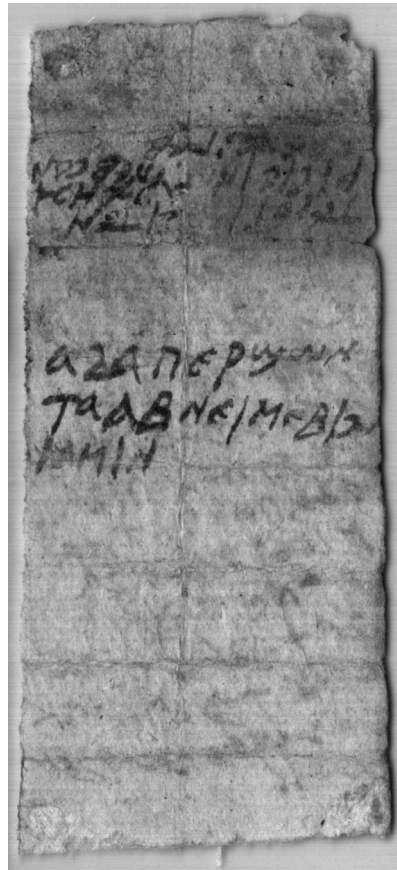
^a $\zeta\Theta\text{M}-\lambda\Theta\text{N}$: Instead of $\zeta\Theta\text{M}-\Pi-\lambda\Theta\text{N}$ (or, $\zeta\text{M}-\Pi-\lambda\Theta\text{N}$, $\zeta\Theta-\Pi-\lambda\Theta\text{N}$ etc.). It is striking (also in ll. 16-17: $\zeta\Theta\text{M}\chi\lambda\text{I}\zeta$) that the definite article Π -, although not written, still impacted phonology, namely the assimilation of $\zeta\Theta\text{N}$ - into $\zeta\Theta\text{M}$ -. So $\zeta\Theta\text{M}$ - here is the equivalent of $\zeta\Theta\text{N}-\Pi$ -. Another instance of the same phenomenon may be found in *P.Fay.Copt.* 30.1 ($\zeta\Theta\text{M}\lambda\Theta\text{N}\Pi\text{NOY}\text{T}\text{I}$).

^b $\zeta\Theta\iota$: This deictic (or, to be more specific, presentative) morpheme is common in Fayyûmic letters, such as *P.Fay.Copt.* 12, 16, 19, 23, 26, 30; for $\lambda\zeta\lambda\zeta\Theta\iota$, see, e.g., *P.Lond.Copt.* 1.592.6, 639.1. (Cf. *P.Fay.Copt.* 12, 12n.) According to Eitan Grossman (e-mail, 15 March 2008), the pattern #presentative + noun phrase + past tense (\pm resumptive pronoun)# “marks a performative perfect, which has sometimes been called an ‘epistolary’ perfect in, e.g., the Semitic languages ... The purpose of such constructions is not to narrate an event or action, but rather to report it from the point of view of present relevance.” An appropriate translation would be, “Well, you have done such-and-such.”

^c $\tau\omicron\lambda$: Numerals seem to be marked merely by the letter forms; note in particular the form of *tau* here. The meaning of the *lambda* over *omicron* eludes me.



recto



verso

^d ΓΙ†ΝΔΡΙ < κεντηνάριον? Cf. Förster, *WB* 404. The unpublished 11th-century Fayyûmic account book BL Or. 13885 has the spelling ΚΙΝ†ΝΔΡΙ (fol. 7A, 3-4). But what commodity has been sent (and with such a mass)?

^e ΔΙΟΥΔΤΟΥΝΕΚ: The verb ΟΥΩΤΕ (Sahidic)/ΟΥΩ(Ω)† (Fayyûmic), “to send forth,” is commonly used for “to send s.th./s.o.” in Fayyûmic letters (see, e.g., *P.Fay.Copt.* 12.12-13; 16.6; *P.Lond.Copt.* 1.585.22-23; 591.3-4; cf. *P.Fay.Copt.* 12.12n.), while Sahidic letters use other terminology, including ΤΔΥΟ (cf. note *s* on ΤΔΔΒ in l. 2 *v*^o).

^f σς: The shape of the letters indicates that these are numerals.

^g 2ΔΛΩΚ: Probably not simply “for you,” which should be 2ΔΛΔΚ in Fayyûmic.

^h ḡumla: Spiro 1895, 108b-109a; Spiro 1923, 119a; one of the better attested Arabic words in Coptic documents. Its usual Sahidic spelling is ΔΛΔΟΥΜΛΘ (-Θ being the common way of transcribing *tā’ marbūṭa* in that dialect; cf. Richter 2006, 497a-b). As typically, the Fayyûmic equivalent of an unstressed final -Θ in Sahidic is -Ι. ΔΛΔΟΥΜΛΙ is the standard spelling in the Fayyûmic account book BL Or. 13885 (alongside sporadic occurrences of ΔΛΔΘΜΛΙ and ΔΛΔΙΜΛΙ).

ⁱ ΝΕΓΔΛΟΥ: Probably neither ΝΕΚ-ΔΛΟΥ, “your children,” nor the placename attested as ΝΕΚΔΛ[.]Β in *CPR* 2.18.1 = *CPR* 4.42 (cf. Timm 1765f.).

^j ΝΕΤΔΕΙ: Probably for ΝΕΤΝΔΕΙ; cf. *P.Fay.Copt.* 41.3, ΤΘΒ ΠΕΤΔΒΕΙ ΠΕΚΔΙ ΝΕΙ, “give it (to) the one who will carry (ΠΕΤΔΒΕΙ for ΠΕΤΝΔΙ) your letter to me.”

^k ΠΙ2Δ: Probably a non-standard spelling of ΠΙ2ΔΥ, “that day,” used in contrast with ΠΔΥ “today.” Compare the loss of Υ suggested for ΤΔΔΒ (l. 2 v°, see note s below). Or ΠΙ-2Δ = ΠΙ-2Ο, “this side, area”?

^l κεντηνάριον?: Cf. note d.

^m χλβ: Again, the form of the letters indicates their function as numerals.

ⁿ ΔΤΝΕΙΩ ΝΕΙ: I am not even sure about the word division. The rendering “You have washed for me” (for unusual forms of the 2nd pl. such as ΔΤΝΕ- for ΔΤΕΤΝ-, see *P.Bal.* 1, pp. 163-165) is hardly convincing.

^o 2Ε†: There is a Fayyûmic verb 2Ε†, “to flow, to pour, to water,” but the context does not seem to provide a fitting syntactic and semantic environment. Another presentative particle (Sahidic 2ΕΕΤΕ, literary Fayyûmic 2ΗΤΕ, 2ΕΤ) cannot be supported following Δ2Δ.

^p ρ^α α: The shapes of *rho* and *alpha* indicate numerals, but why is another small *alpha* written above *rho*?

^q ΔCCΔΚ: Probably an Arabic word, but which one? Is it *sāq* (Wehr 1971, 443a, “shank, thigh, leg; stem, stalk [of plants], trunk [of a tree]”) or *ṣāḡ* (Wehr 1971, 499a, “in order, right, proper, sound, regular, standard;” Hinds & Badawi 1986, 391, “1 sound ... 2 piastre, piastre coin;” Spiro 1923, 253, “in perfect condition, sound, whole, not broken;” Wahrmund 1898, 1.2:3, “rein, ungemischt, ächt; ehrlich, rechtschaffen, gesund”)?

^r 2EMXΔIC: Cf. above, note *a*.

^s TΔΔB: As the pronominal state of † “to give” is attested as TΘI= in the external address of the text (l. 4 v^o, as elsewhere in Fayyûmic), TΔΔ= may be for TΔΥΔ= “to send forth;” this verb is often used in Fayyûmic, cf., e.g., *P.Fay. Copt.* 16.9 – as typically in Coptic letters).

^t BΛIΔMIN: Cf. the spelling BΘΛIΔMIN (probably a variant of BΘNIΔMIN) in *P.Ryl. Copt.* 217.13.

^u CIPi: For this spelling and similar forms of the name, cf. *NB Kopt.* 84.

^v CICI: For this spelling and similar forms of the name, cf. *NB Kopt.* 84.

^w I am unable to read this line.

^x ΔPΧHΛΔ: For this spelling and similar forms of the name ΔPΧΘΛΔOC, cf. *NB Kopt.* 15.

Documents like the lists of P.Lips inv. 250 and the letter on P.Lips. inv. 260 provide evidence for the use of Coptic in day-to-day communication on the eve of the linguistic Arabization of Egyptian Christians. The Coptic of these individuals was not only enriched by Arabic on the lexical level, but also bears the scars of the processes of language change, and, as a result, it is difficult for us to decipher and interpret. It comes as no surprise that documents like the ones presented here have been neglected by editors. And yet they very much deserve our attention, for within them we find important clues for understanding the social and cultural transformations of Fatimid Egypt.¹¹

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¹¹ For a broad depiction of this period, see Lev 1991.

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Aphrodito Before Dioskoros

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Abstract

Preliminary results from a forthcoming Aphrodito prosopography allow scholars to broaden their understanding of the history and social dynamics of that Byzantine village. Of particular interest are the families who achieved prominence in Aphrodito in the late fifth and early sixth centuries, before the rise of Dioskoros and his family. Close attention to their careers will enhance our understanding of Aphrodito as a village in motion, full of competition and social tension.

The lack of an Aphrodito prosopography has long hindered studies of that Byzantine village. The one available resource, that of V.A. Girgis, lacks scientific rigor and suffers from obsolescence in light of the many Aphrodito papyri published since 1938. While modern Aphrodito prosopographies have been promised in the past, the grail has remained elusive. I have prepared a preliminary draft of biographical entries for all historical individuals attested in the published Aphrodito papyri, and hope to present that prosopography in full book form in the near future.¹ Since I have discussed the need for just such a prosopography with Jim Keenan, and since I would not have survived in the world of Aphrodito studies without the sure-footed guidance of his articles on the subject, I offer for his Festschrift these preliminary notes on some of this prosopography's initial discoveries.

The most intriguing stories are of Aphrodito's older elite families. The family of Dioskoros the poet has dominated Aphroditan historiography, par-

¹ I am grateful to Roger Bagnall, who has supported this project through post-doctoral research fellowships at both Columbia University and New York University's Institute for the Study of the Ancient World and has commented on an earlier draft of this article. I am also particularly grateful to Jean-Luc Fournet, who has been generous with both his time and the fruits of his labor. References to unpublished papyri are based on my inspection of his transcripts prepared for *P.Aphrod.*, a forthcoming volume of Aphrodito papyri. Likewise, the digital images I discuss are from his own Aphrodito database.

ticularly since the seminal work of Leslie MacCoull in the 1980s, because of the provenance of the bulk of our papyri. But beside his family, behind it, and decades, even generations, before it, we now find other powerful families, some more successful than his own. Exploring the history of these families sheds light on sixth-century Aphrodito, but it also allows us to take our first look at Aphrodito's earlier history. Because this article is the first formal product of my Aphrodito prosopography, and because I hope that its conclusions will be tested by readers of that prosopography, I use that prosopography's numeric labels throughout. For example, Dioskoros the poet is Dioskoros 3; his father is Apollos 2, son of Dioskoros 1; and the family's progenitor is Psimanobet 1.

The Family of Philantinoos 1

The first glimpse into Aphrodito's "prehistory" concerns Dioskoros' relatives by marriage, the family of Philantinoos 1. In 2005, Jean-Luc Fournet presented to the *Colloque Dioscore* in Strasbourg evidence that Dioskoros' wife and her family were hiding in plain sight throughout the Aphrodito papyri. The crucial link appears in an unpublished "contrat de location" from 587/8 CE.² That text is addressed to Αὐρηλία Σ[ο]φία θυγατρὶ Ἰωάννου | [Κορνηλίου] συντελεστ[ρίῳ]. Fournet restored Ioannes' patronymic, Kornelios, through reference to two already published texts. First, he presented a re-edition of *P.Cair. Masp.* 1.67111, a nearly contemporary land lease from 585 CE. In that text, the lacuna at l. 7 is to be replaced with Αὐρηλία Σοφία θυγατρὶ Ἰωάννου Κορνηλίου. Next, in a series of receipts compiled in *P.Cair.Masp.* 3.67325, Sophia serves as the intermediary for tax payments made to the pagarchs by Kornelios, son of Philantinoos. Sophia reprises her role as intermediary for her grandfather Kornelios in an unpublished papyrus, appearing in a register of fiscal receipts issued by the pagarch Ioannes in the mid-560s CE.³ Under this reconstruction, the Kornelios receipts are mixed with documents more obviously relevant to the affairs of Dioskoros because Dioskoros' wife Sophia was handling her own grandfather's business affairs.

The connections between these two families go still further. Sophia's father Ioannes 31, son of Kornelios 1, appears in Aphrodito documents from the early to mid-sixth century. He appears in a fragmentary and undated private account perhaps relating to the estates of Count Ammonios,⁴ and again in December 523, in an acknowledgement to the *demosios logos* that Anouphios owes rent

² P.Strasb. inv. gr. 1633.

³ P.Lond. inv. 2824c+2825.

⁴ *P.Cair.Masp.* 2.67218, which Maspero described as a "[f]ragment de compte privé, faisant peut-être partie du même document que le numéro précédent;" *P.Cair.Masp.*

in arrears on Anna's land.⁵ Since Anna is described as the daughter of Kornelios, she is presumably Ioannes 31's sister, and thus the aunt of Dioskoros' wife Sophia. Ioannes writes for Anouphios, who is illiterate. Judging from a digital image, Ioannes' hand is comfortable enough, but the same cannot be said for his spelling. He misspelled four of the six words he wrote that still survive on the papyrus other than his name.

Ioannes 31's career extends into the 540s. He witnesses a grain sale in 545 to a Psaios *georgos* by Flavius Ammonios through Apollos 2, father of the poet Dioskoros.⁶ An estate expense account in the hand of that Dioskoros, presumably relating to his family holdings, mentions payments to the same Ioannes, son of Kornelios, before 547/8 CE.⁷ Ioannes, son of Kornelios, signs the petition by Aphrodito villagers to the empress Theodora in defense of the village's right of *autopragia*.⁸ Given the scarcity of men named Kornelios in the Aphrodito papyri, all of these individuals are certainly the same. (Kornelios 1 appears elsewhere, in Aphrodito's fiscal register, making a payment through a *georgos* named Besis.⁹)

If Fournet's reconstruction is correct, and Ioannes 31 is Dioskoros' father-in-law, the implications are interesting. Ioannes would have his own connections to Ammonios, the count employing Apollos and Dioskoros in successive generations. The preservation in the Dioskoros archives of the acknowledgment of arrears on Anna's land suggests further that the connection between the family of Ioannes and that of Apollos goes back at least to the 520s. These connections show that Dioskoros' later marriage to Sophia did not arise in a vacuum, but has its origins in ongoing business connections between both of their parents.

Here, the family ties to Dioskoros' better-known in-law, Phoibammon, son of Triadelphos, may provide a useful analogy. An unpublished receipt (VI) studied by Jean-Luc Fournet records payments made on land registered

2.67217, a "[f]ragment de compte privé, paraissant appartenir aux archives du comte Ammonios."

⁵ *P.Lond.* 5.1687.

⁶ *P.Ross.Georg.* 3.37.

⁷ *P.Cair.Masp.* 2.67141, with the date assigned by Jean-Luc Fournet in his unpublished Aphrodito database on the basis of the presence in the text of Apollos 2, alive at Fol. 4.r.5.

⁸ *P.Cair.Masp.* 3.67283; see discussions in G. Ruffini, *Social Networks in Byzantine Egypt* (Cambridge 2008); T. Gagos and P. van Minnen, *Settling a Dispute: Toward a Legal Anthropology of Late Antique Egypt* (Ann Arbor 1994) 10; L. MacCoull, *Dioscorus of Aphrodito: His Work and His World* (Berkeley 1988) 21-22.

⁹ *P.Aphrod.Reg.*, p. 231.

in the name of Triadelphos, son of Biktor.¹⁰ The same text records payments by Phoibammon himself in the name of the heirs of Dioskoros, son of Psi-manobet, and payments in the name of Apollos through another intermediary. Triadelphos, son of Biktor, also makes a fragmentary appearance in an *embole* receipt (VI) issued to Phoibammon, son of Triadelphos, by three monks from Antaiopolis.¹¹

Presumably Triadelphos is Phoibammon's father; Biktor is therefore Phoibammon's grandfather. Triadelphos, son of Biktor, appears in Aphrodito's fiscal register no less than six times, paying twice through an intermediary and four times in his own right. The unpublished receipts show that holdings formerly belonging to Phoibammon's father Triadelphos and to Dioskoros, son of Psi-manobet, were eventually administered within the bounds of a single text. As with Sophia's marriage to Dioskoros, Phoibammon's relationship with Apollos and his family may therefore be only the latest manifestation of connections spanning several generations. And, as with Ioannes, son of Kornelios, Triadelphos himself is an active proprietor, perhaps laying the groundwork for his son's involvement in the same field.¹²

The Family of Abba Sourous 7

In both of these cases, we find connections to the Dioskoros family in previous generations. For a more far-reaching glimpse into Aphrodito's past, we turn to the monastery of Abba Sourous, the single largest landholder of *astika* in the Aphrodito cadastre.¹³ Like the monastery founded by Apollos, son of Dioskoros, the Abba Sourous monastery appears to be the personal foundation of a local notable.¹⁴ But Sourous, the eponymous founder of one of Aphrodito's largest institutions in the 520s, belongs himself to the first half of the previous century.

The crucial text for Sourous is *P.Cair.Masp.* 1.67110, a lease agreement from 565 CE. Aurelius Psais, a potter from Pte[...] now living in Aphrodito,

¹⁰ P.Ct.YBR inv. 1397v, 1397(A) qua.

¹¹ P.Lond. inv. 2822.

¹² For Phoibammon as a "Byzantine land entrepreneur," see J.G. Keenan, "Aurelius Phoibammon, Son of Triadelphus," *BASP* 17 (1980) 145-154.

¹³ *SB* 20.14669.4n. in *ed. pr.*, where the editors were the first to recognize *P.Cair.Masp.* 1.67110 as the key to the family history of the Abba Sourous monastery.

¹⁴ A point Keenan realized over twenty years ago; see J.G. Keenan, "Notes on Absentee Landlordism at Aphrodito," *BASP* 22 (1985) 157. For the Apa Apollos monastery, see L. MacCoull, "The Apa Apollos Monastery of Pharou (Aphrodito) and its Papyrus Archive," *Le Muséon* 106 (1993) 21-63.

leases property from the heirs of Elene and her sister Mariam, all Aphrodito *ktetores*. Elene is the daughter of Romanos, son of Biktor, son of [...]ou, and Mariam is described as *homognesia*. The property in question is Elene and Mariam's patrimonial one-third share of a complete pottery workshop in the south of the village. The workshop is near the holy place of Abba Michael, "being in your paternal farmstead, near the pottery of the holy monastery of Abba Sourous your ancestor" (τοῦ ὑμῶν προγώνου, *i. προγόνου*).

This is an atypically important family. It is unusual to list three generations of patronymics, particularly for a woman. The presence of the sisters' unnamed heirs means that this text documents five generations of a single family. We find their traces elsewhere. Elene 4 and Mariam 13 appear in the Aphrodito cadastre and fiscal register. Both women presumably belong to the group of unnamed heirs to Romanos, son of Biktor, appearing as payers in both texts, from 524 and 525/6 CE respectively. Romanos is a rare enough name, and no others appear as a son of Biktor in the Aphrodito material.

What about Romanos himself? Since heirs of Romanos 1, son of Biktor, appear in the Aphrodito cadastre and register, Romanos is therefore dead by the mid-520s. These heirs pay three times through Ama Rachel and once through a Ioannes. If Romanos died young, he could belong to the last generation born in the fifth century. Equally, a man in his sixties or seventies would date back to the mid-fifth century. It is harder to trace the father of Romanos, Biktor 73, son of [...]ou. Biktor is an exceptionally common name in Aphrodito, and the damaged state of Biktor's patronymic admits no easy solution. Biktor and his anonymous father certainly date to the mid-fifth century, if not earlier.

Where does Sourous fit in? The use of the term *progonos* (ancestor, forefather) is unusual, appearing only three times in the Aphrodito papyri.¹⁵ In *P.Cair. Masp.* 1.67109, a Besarion appears as the *progonos* of the heirs of Apollos, son of Dioskoros. Peter van Minnen has proposed on the basis of this reference that Besarion was Apollos' maternal grandmother and thus the great-grandfather of Apollos' heirs.¹⁶ If the term is used the same way in reference to Sourous, Sourous would have been Elene and Mariam's maternal grandfather, Romanos 1's father-in-law. By this reasoning, Sourous belongs to the same generation as Biktor 73, born in the first half of the fifth century. If the landed wealth supporting his monastic endowment was not entirely inherited, Sourous accumulated it during the second half of the fifth century. The foundation itself, presumably belonging to his lifetime, then goes back to this period as well.

¹⁵ *P.Cair.Masp.* 1.67109.r.3; *P.Cair.Masp.* 1.67110.r.27; *P.Lond.* 5.1691.r.16. The first two texts are the work of one scribe, Kuros 12. The third text is clearly in a different hand.

¹⁶ In his unpublished paper delivered at the 2005 *Colloque Dioscore* in Strasbourg.

That eponymous monastery had direct ties to the Dioskoros family in the 540s. As Keenan once noted, “Dioscorus served as middleman-lessee for this monastery, for a land plot (ὄργανον) in the village of Aphrodito’s northern field and for a farm (γεώργιον) ‘called Kerdaleous.’”¹⁷ Indirect ties can be found as well. The scribe and one of the witnesses to 67110, the lease agreement with Elene and Mariam’s heirs, serve the same function in a near contemporary lease agreement with Dioskoros and the heirs of Apollos.¹⁸ Thus, the family of Sourous 1 teaches the same lesson as the family of Philantinoos 1: the world of Aphrodito as we see it through the archive of Dioskoros is a world preconditioned by the village elite from previous generations, in this case from the previous century.

The Family of Surion 1

The descendants of Surion 1 are another elite family from Aphrodito’s earlier generations. The editors of the Aphrodito cadastre first drew attention to what they called “une famille de notables et de propriétaires fonciers” that left traces in that record from 524 CE.¹⁹ We know nothing about Surion himself; he appears only as the patronym of Mousaios 21, a man described as an *apogenomenos syntelestes*, a former—presumably deceased—member of what is usually described as Aphrodito’s joint tax-paying collective.²⁰ Mousaios had at least four children, Ioannes 65, Eirene 1, Sibulla 2, and Herais 1. The latter two children are twice described as *eugenestatai*, well-born, confirming Mousaios’ high status in Aphrodito.²¹

Mousaios was dead by October 526 at the latest, when we see Apollos leasing land on behalf of his heirs.²² He may already have been dead in 524, when the Aphrodito cadastre and one of its extracts records land in the name of Ioannes, son of Mousaios, κατὰ κο(ινωνίαν) Εἰρήνη[ης] ἀδελφ(ῆς), in com-

¹⁷ Keenan (n. 14), 157, citing *P.Cair.Masp.* 1.67087 and 2.67133.

¹⁸ *P.Cair.Masp.* 1.67109; see G. Ruffini, *Social Networks in Byzantine Egypt* (Ph.D. diss. Columbia University 2005), and *id.* (n. 8).

¹⁹ SB 20.14669.286-288n. in *ed. pr.*

²⁰ *P.Lond.* 5.1695. See A. Laniado, “Συντελεστής: notes sur un terme fiscal surinterprété,” *JJP* 26 (1996), for an effective challenge to this traditional picture. Laniado’s main points, that no positive existence of such a collective or “college” can be found, and that the *syntelestai* appear chiefly as “personnes privées” (47), appear fully substantiated by the results of my prosopography.

²¹ *P.Cair.Masp.* 3.67300 and *P.Lond.* 5.1695.

²² SB 26.16529.

mon with his sister Eirene.²³ Since the cadastre describes Ioannes and Eirene as *georgoi*, they are presumably adults at the time, which would place Mousaios in the generation born no later than 480, and his father Surion in the generation born no later than 460.

The activities of Mousaios' heirs indicate family property in multiple locations. In 527 CE, his well-born daughters Sibulla and Herais lease land to Aurelius Biktör, son of Papnouthes, through the village *boethos*.²⁴ Apollos, son of Dioskoros, writes for Biktör, who cannot. The sisters are addressed ὑπὲρ ὀνό(ματος) Σουροῦτο[ς], for the name of Sourous, a phrase we find when land is held by one party but still registered in the name of another party.²⁵ At first glance, the text's failure to give any specifics about Sourous makes further identification impossible, but the family's other activities give us a clue.

That lease covers land in Piah Peto, but in the previous year (526), the heirs of Mousaios the *syntelestes* more generally – Sibulla and Herais are presumably included in this group – leased through Apollos, son of Dioskoros, a half-share of arouras in the *kleros* of Tchenestate to three men named Biktör, Biktör and Phoibammon.²⁶ Two years before that (524), the same three men – all described as shepherds and fieldguards – leased land called Kasinla in the *kleros* of Tchenestate from Apollos alone.²⁷ A year before that (523/4?), one of those men leased land called Kasinla in the *kleros* of Tchenestate belonging to τοὺς κληρονόμ(ους) | τοῦ γέρ[ο]ντος Σουροῦτος Χαρισίου.²⁸

The chain of connections here is suggestive. The heirs of Sourous, son of Charisios, held land in Tchenestate that Apollos rented to local shepherds. The heirs of Mousaios also held land in Tchenestate that Apollos rented to local

²³ SB 20.14669 and 14670.

²⁴ *P.Cair.Masp.* 3.67300, for which *BL* 8:74 notes Kuros is to be read as the scribe instead of Psates, citing *P.Hamb.* 3.234. That scribe, Kuros 8 (Diethart and Worp, *Notarsunterschriften* 10.2), appears in several texts with Apollos 2; their joint appearance in this Mousaios text is presumably not a coincidence.

²⁵ See for example the list of holdings described as ὀνό(ματος) PN but now in the possession of Ammonios in SB 20.14670.

²⁶ SB 26.16529, with no note on the toponym in the *ed. pr.*

²⁷ *PSI* 8.931.

²⁸ *P.Lond.* 5.1693; the *ed. pr.* prints Τᾱχηπέστατε, but study of a digital image confirms that Τχενεστατε can be read, bringing 1693 in line with the reading in the other leases. For Tachepestate, Bell followed Maspero's confident reading of the same in *P.Cair.Masp.* 1.67100, but admitted that ν for π is "more easily read." Consultation of a digital image of 67100 confirms that Τχηνεστατε is the preferable reading there as well. That text, in which Biktör, son of Apollos, leases land from the *kleros* to Promauos in 506 CE, may give an earlier glimpse of the same holding. Bell dated 1693 by palaeography to early VI; the *HGV* cites an unpublished suggestion by F. Reiter for the date 523/4.

shepherds. It seems fair, therefore, to conclude that when Sibulla and Herais, two of those heirs, leased land elsewhere, in Peto, the Sourous in whose name that land was registered was Sourous, son of Charisios. The family of Surion 1 thus continues the pattern seen elsewhere: Apollos, although an active proprietor in his own right, sometimes appears solely on the fringes of connectivity between much older families. In this case, the ties between Sourous, Mousaios and Tchenestate are all we see of the business dealings of an Aphroditan *syntelestes* from the generation of village power before Apollos came into his own.

The Family of Kostantios 2

The family of Kostantios 2 affords other intriguing glimpses into Aphrodito's reconstructed prehistory. We will start with the family's youngest members, and work our way into the past. Two brothers, Isakos 2 and Daueid 4, both make their last appearance in the Aphrodito papyri in the mid-520s. Isakos, son of Biktos, appears as a *monazon* in the Aphrodito cadastre and as *monazon kai georgos* in the cadastral extract before the summer of 524.²⁹ In both documents, land belonging to Flavius Ammonios is described as registered in the name of Biktos, son of Makarios, now under Isakos (ὀνόματος Βίκτορος Μακαρίου ὑπὸ) Ἰσακὸν Βί[κ]τορος μονά[ζ]οντα (καὶ γεωργόν)).³⁰ Daueid, son of Biktos, also appears in the Aphrodito cadastre, as a *georgos*, and three times in Aphrodito's fiscal register, compiled in the following year.

We know Isakos 2 and Daueid 4 are brothers: documents from the previous decade describe them as sons of Biktos and grandsons of Kostantios. Isakos 2 appears in October 514 as Αὐρή[λ]ιος Ἰσακὸς Βίκτορος Κωσταντίου, a *monazon* leasing land from Aurelius Psentereous, son of Akoreios.³¹ Just over two months later, Daueid 4 appears as Αὐρήλιος Δαυεῖδ υἱὸς Βίκτορος Κωσταντίου | ἀπὸ πρωτοκ(ωμητῶν) κώμης Ἀφροδίτης, a former village headman of Aphrodito.³² In that text, Apollos 2, the father of Dioskoros, agrees to pay Hadrianos thirty *artabai* of barley for Daueid if he proves unable to do so. When Keenan noticed this acknowledgment of debt, he speculated that Daueid incurred it while headman, and that Apollos, new to the office, agreed to take it over for him.³³ Thus, Isakos and Daueid are already adults in the 510s, leasing land in

²⁹ SB 20.14669 and 14670.

³⁰ SB 20.14670.7.

³¹ PFlor. 3.279.

³² PFlor. 3.280.

³³ J.G. Keenan, "Aurelius Apollos and the Aphrodite village elite," *PapCongr.* XVII, 957-958.

one case and leaving high-ranking village office on the other. They were not likely born after the 480s, and were quite probably born earlier.

Their father, Biktor 43, son of Kostantios 2, is well attested in his own right. He appears nine times in Aphrodito's fiscal register from 525/6 CE, six times explicitly described as the son of Kostantios.³⁴ In three entries, he pays for land registered in his own name, twice by himself and once through Ama Rachel. Constantin Zuckerman, editor of the fiscal register, correctly identified this Biktor as the same man appearing in *P.Cair.Masp.* 1.67119+67048.³⁵ That text is a request addressed to the Aphrodito *protokometai* by three sons of Kostantios 2 named Biktor, Ioannes and Apollos, that the tax burden on their father's land be transferred to their own names. The papyrus is incomplete, and dates only to an unspecified fifth indiction. Possibilities include 511/2, 526/7 and 541/2. Jean-Luc Fournet's unpublished list of dates for Aphrodito texts favors 526/7, on the grounds that Ioannes, son of Kostantios, appears in Zuckerman's fiscal register from the previous year. This is not conclusive. Since Biktor 43, Ioannes 50/61 and Apollos 41 are the father and two uncles of Daueid 4, himself a former headman in 514, their own transfer of taxation from their father, Daueid's grandfather, to their own names is likely to be earlier rather than later. By this reasoning, *P.Cair.Masp.* 1.67119+67048 more appropriately dates to 511/2. The three brothers attested in this text as adults handling the property of their presumably dead father were probably born in the 460s, if not earlier. Biktor, whose sons were adults in the 510s, certainly belongs to a generation born in the mid-fifth century.

And what of his brothers, Ioannes 50/61 and Apollos 41? Apollos appears in the tax transfer request and seven times in the Aphrodito fiscal register, paying through an intermediary with his brother Ioannes 50. These connections are unremarkable, and more or less certain. Tracing Ioannes is somewhat more difficult. A Ioannes, son of Kostantios, appears in the estate accounts of Flavius Ammonios in the 540s, but his entries provide no additional information to verify the match.³⁶ A more definite sighting occurs in July 521, in the collection of sureties made to Apollos the *riparios*.³⁷ Ioannes, son of Kostantios, appears in that text guaranteeing that a Biktor from the *dekaneia* of Phennis will fulfill

³⁴ C. Zuckerman, *Du village à l'Empire. Autour du registre fiscal d'Aphroditô (525/526)* (Paris 2004), did not make the identifications that I am proposing, and indexed my Biktor 43 as three separate men: Biktor Kostantiou; Biktor Kostantiou, *père de Isak*; and Biktor, *père de Daueid*.

³⁵ Zuckerman (n. 34), index du texte, s. n.

³⁶ *P.Cair.Masp.* 2.67139. In the absence of a certain identification, I have assigned this pair the preliminary numbers Kostantios 6 and Ioannes 152.

³⁷ *P.Cair.Masp.* 3.67328.5.

his duties as fieldguard over the course of the coming year. The scribe identifies Ioannes as a *syntelestes* and son of Kostantios and a woman named Mariam.

Ioannes for his part signs his name, with no particular ease, and leaves his patronymic in the nominative rather than the genitive. The hand is different from that giving his name in *P.Cair.Masp.* 1.67048, the tax transfer, but the fragmentary state of that text prevents certainty that he signed for himself. The identification of Ioannes, son of Kostantios, in the tax transfer with Ioannes, son of Kostantios, in the fieldguard guarantee is thus uncertain. It does however present a picture consistent with the rest of the family. This Ioannes *syntelestes* would be the uncle of Daeid 4, a landowner and former *protokometes*, and himself an attested landowner and brother of landowners in other contexts.

If this reconstruction is correct, Kostantios 2 and Mariam 3 are the progenitors of three sons and two grandsons who hold high village office in the 510s and 520s. But they themselves are from a much earlier era. Kostantios 2's tax burden transfers to his sons date perhaps as early as 511/2 under the chronology proposed above. We have seen that those sons were likely born in the 460s or earlier. This puts Kostantios and Mariam firmly in the generation born in or before the 440s CE. At this remove it is unlikely that we can learn much about them with certainty. But one hint compels a closer look at Mariam.

A *eugenestate* Mariam Eulogio(u), ἀπογενομένο(υ) πρωτοκ(ωμητοῦ), appears in October 515. This Mariam had borrowed five *solidi* from Tariste, the mother of a slow writer named Besarion, son of Mousaios. When she repaid the money, Besarion could not find her mother's documentation of the transaction but produced instead a new document acknowledging Mariam's payment.³⁸ Presumably the same Mariam appears three times a decade later in the Aphrodito fiscal register, including two entries in which she pays on behalf of the heirs of Eulogios. Her presence in that capacity suggests that the Eulogios in the fiscal register is her father, the former *protokometes*.

At first glance there is no particular reason to identify this Mariam with Mariam 3, our putative wife of Kostantios 2. But let us return to the *monazon* Isakos 2, Kostantios 2's grandson from the 510s and 520s. In the first place, Isakos' role as a lessee in a family of owners is odd. The land that he leases becomes more interesting for its description as ἀγορασθείσας παρὰ σοῦ [the lessor Psentereous] παρὰ Εὐλογίου. Eulogios is not a particularly unusual name in Aphrodito; I count perhaps ten possible appearances in my prosopography. Nonetheless, the chain of connections is intriguing. Isakos, the brother of a former headman, is in turn the grandson of Mariam, who may herself be the

³⁸ *P.Cair.Masp.* 3.67306.

well-born daughter of another former headman. It may be his land, or part of it, that Isakos is leasing from Psentereous.

Eulogios the former headman shares another interesting characteristic with the family of Kostantios 2. The document issued to his daughter in 515 by the slow-writing Besarion has no apparent connection to the family of Apollos and his son Dioskoros. The same is largely true of the documents detailing the descendants of Kostantios 2. Isakos' lease from Psentereous shows no obvious connection to the Apollos family. The tax transfer by his father and uncles of land in the name of Kostantios 2 equally shows no connection to that family.

Why – if the Aphrodito papyri are a collection of Apollos' and Dioskoros' family papers, as long supposed – do these extraneous documents survive at all? Keenan's initial guess about Daueid 4 provides a clue.³⁹ If Daueid did indeed incur a debt to Hadrianos that Apollos agreed to assume as village headman, the connection between Daueid's family and Apollos may run deeper. As Daueid the headman, Eulogios the headman, Ioannes the *syntelestes* and Mariam the well-born all faded from the scene, some business papers from a dominant family of Aphrodito's previous generation may have found appropriate safe-keeping with a dominant family from Aphrodito's next generation. While we lack the means to track the rise of this earlier family to village prominence, it likely came through landed wealth earned or inherited by Kostantios 2 in the second half of the fifth century.

The Families of Psuros 5 and Ouetranios 1

The families of Psuros 5 and Ouetranios 1, whose latest members are active well into the mid-sixth century CE, pose a puzzle similar to the family of Kostantios 2. Why do the documents describing their affairs, brief as they are, survive in the absence of any apparent connection to the greater Aphrodito archives? Since these two family groups appear only in *PMichael*. 40 and 42 respectively, and nowhere else, they pose few prosopographical challenges. Their affairs, however, do provide one or two more glimpses into Aphrodito's fifth-century history and raise an interesting "archaeological" puzzle.

First, the family of Ouetranios 1.⁴⁰ His great-grandson, Besarion 14, marries a *eugenestate* woman named Rachel late in 566 CE. The couple appears in a marriage settlement in which Rachel receives a debt acknowledgement of 30 *solidi* from Besarion and his parents, Iakob and Irene, along with 10 *arourai* of land as security. They in turn lease the land from her without rent, shoulder-

³⁹ See above, note 33.

⁴⁰ *PMichael*. 42.

ing the tax liability instead. Iakob 20 and Irene 1 are both συντελεσταὶ ἀπὸ κώμης Ἀφροδ(ίτης). A fragmentary reference to συντελεστ [may refer to Rachel herself.⁴¹ This marriage of two high-status villagers is a rare glimpse into Aphroditan political culture during the period when Dioskoros himself was absent in the provincial capital, his family archive no longer illuminating local affairs.⁴²

The marriage settlement gives considerable genealogical detail on the groom's side. Besarion's mother Irene – also Tirene – is the daughter of another Besarion and a woman named Talous. We have therefore a case of papponymy, well known in respect to paternal grandfathers, but much harder to demonstrate with maternal grandfathers, as we have here. Besarion's father Iakob is the son of Phoibammon and Thekla, the former in turn the son of an otherwise unknown Ouetranios.⁴³ Besarion, of marriageable age in the mid-560s, could have been born in the mid- to late 530s. His grandfather thus was perhaps of the generation born in or near the 470s, and Ouetranios in turn was born as early as the 440s.

We have no way of knowing whether *syntelestai* could come from new money. Indeed, the exact place of the *syntelestai* – collective tax-payers – in the village hierarchy remains unsettled.⁴⁴ Our best-documented examples (Apollon, Dioskoros, and Phoibammon) provide no clues concerning how they achieved the position. Nonetheless, the relatively high number of references in the papyri to Apollon's grandfather Psimanobet suggests that their prominence stemmed at least in part from his prior success. The same is presumably true of Besarion 14, born of two *syntelestai*. His parents likely held that title in the 560s, in part owing to the wealth of their own parents, who would have been adults in the 520s when Apollon, son of Dioskoros, still had much of his career ahead of him.

But why do we know the story of Ouetranios and his descendants at all? The marriage settlement has no obvious relevance to the Dioskoros papyri. Some of the witnesses to the settlement have potential connections to more familiar figures, and the text itself was drafted by Pilatos the *sumbolaigraphos*.

⁴¹ *P.Michael*. 42A.1, with the discussion on p. 89 of the *ed. pr.*

⁴² For Dioskoros in Antinoopolis see, e.g., MacCoull (n. 8) 11–14, and Ruffini (n. 8) chapter three.

⁴³ The name is unique in the Aphroditon papyri.

⁴⁴ See Keenan "Village shepherds and social tension in byzantine Egypt" *YCS* 28 (1985) 253, with Ruffini (n. 8) chapter three, n. 143, and chapter four, n. 24. The prosopography itself might clarify matters on completion. If, however, the interpretations put forth in Laniado (n. 20), are correct, and the *syntelestai* are better understood in a private capacity, the question may have little real meaning.

A match between this Pilatos and the other literate men of the same name ought to be possible, were images of the text, or even its location, available to us. The plot thickens when we consider the marriage settlement's possible find circumstances. The editor of the Michaelides papyri records a remarkable story that *P.Michael*. 40, 41 and 42 were not found with any other Aphrodito papyri, but rather rolled together in a mud box.⁴⁵

Antiquities dealers are eager to tell, and buyers even more eager to hear, unlikely stories about provenance. But the apparent disconnect between the marriage settlement (*P.Michael*. 42) and the rest of the Aphrodito papyri is a curiosity repeated by both of its putative partners in the reported mud box. This brings us to the family of Psuros 5. *P.Michael*. 40 (559 CE)⁴⁶ documents a land sale involving an extended family.⁴⁷ The key player is Ioannes 153, son of Isakios 15, and grandson of Beskouis 6. He sells to Apollos the former *boethos* 10 *solidi* worth of land, a half-share of his mother's third-share of a jointly held farm. Ioannes 153's half-brother by the same unnamed mother, Phoibammon 129, has already sold his half-share of the same third-share to Apollos. Phoibammon himself is described as the son of Mathias 12, grandson of Psempnouthios 1, and great-grandson of Psuros 5.

I have argued elsewhere that this text shows the network-driven nature of land acquisition in Aphrodito.⁴⁸ It also lets us imagine more of the village from the vantage point of Apollos and Dioskoros. The one-third share Ioannes sells borders land held jointly by the heirs of Apollos 2, son of Dioskoros. Given the close relations we see in other Aphrodito papyri between the Apollos family and their landholding neighbors, it is reasonable to suppose Apollos and Dioskoros knew these families as well. Isakios 15, Ioannes 153's father, is still alive in the mid-sixth century, but his unnamed wife and her first husband Mathias 12 are dead, perhaps as recently as Apollos himself. Since the wife's children from both marriages are old enough to legally alienate their inheritance, Isakios and Mathias would have been born at the start of the sixth century, and perhaps earlier. Their fathers, Beskouis and Psempnouthios, date to the 470s or 480s, and Psuros 5, the latter's father, would have been born in the mid-fifth century.

⁴⁵ *P.Michael*, p. 71, reports that the three texts were "found together, in a box made of 'mud', each roll resting in a separate groove in the box ... Unfortunately the box seems to have been broken up, so that we have to rely on a doubtful second- or third-hand description."

⁴⁶ 544 or 559 in the *ed. pr.*, but Apollos is dead in that text, thus excluding the first option.

⁴⁷ Ruffini (n. 8) chapter three.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

Again, we should ask why these documents survive if they have no connection to the archives of Dioskoros and family. If the curious story of the mud box has any truth to it, the Pilatos *nomikos* of *P.Michael*. 40 may be the Pilatos *sumbolaiographos* of *P.Michael*. 42, and the mud box his. But these links are shaky at best. If we cling to the assumption that all Aphrodito papyri from the Byzantine period come to us via the family of Dioskoros 3, we should suppose some social connection between the heirs of Apollos 2 and their rural neighbors.

But which neighbors? The new owner of the mother's half-share, Apollos 103 the former *boethos* and son of Iosephios, also acquires new land in *P.Michael*. 41, the third text in the alleged mud box.⁴⁹ He might have unknown connections to Dioskoros, which might explain the survival of these texts. Equally, we have to be mindful of the diachronic nature of social ties. If Apollos 2's heirs held land near that of Isakios and his dead wife, their presence there likely dates back to earlier periods, to the generation of Dioskoros, son of Psi-manobet, a contemporary of Beskouis and Psempnouthios. This speculation, as inconclusive as it is, points to an interesting direction for Aphrodito studies. We study events in the 510s or 520s often unmindful that the key players at the same time forge unseen social ties that explain events thirty or forty years in the future.

Conclusion

Aphrodito as we see it during the reign of Justinian is shaped by families whose origins are as distant as the reign of Theodosius II. This has considerable implications for the village's communal memory. When villagers in the late 540s wrote about the Emperor Leo's grant of *autopragia* to Aphrodito, they were by no means describing the distant past.⁵⁰ Rather, they were talking about events that took place during the lives of people still attested in the Aphrodito papyri, Sourous, Kostantios, and others whose grandchildren were still active when Apollos assumed the office of village headman.

At the centennial celebration of the Dioskoros papyri held in Strasbourg in 2005, I presented a study of village factionalism in Aphrodito.⁵¹ I argued

⁴⁹ *P.Michael*., p. 72, describes papyri 40 and 41 as "the property of a certain Apollos Joseph's son," noting that the third papyrus (42) "has no obvious connection to Apollos."

⁵⁰ *PCair.Masp.* 1.67019.

⁵¹ G. Ruffini, "Factions and social distance in sixth-century Aphrodito," in J.-L. Fournet (éd.), *Les Archives de Dioscore d'Aphrodité cent ans après leur découverte* (forthcoming).

that modern scholars have treated Aphrodito's social groups as monoliths and overlooked the likelihood of tensions within the landholding class, within the shepherd guilds, and elsewhere. A factional view of Aphrodito is a more nuanced view of village life, introducing change over time as tensions between factions play out in village life. The forays into Aphroditan prehistory that I present here complement this view. Painting a picture of Aphrodito in motion, they remind us that before the rise of Apollos and Dioskoros, the village's previous elite families shaped sixth-century Aphrodito.

Much Ado about the Grape Harvest A Letter from Apollonios to his Father¹

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Abstract

In this third-fourth century CE letter, which mentions the Hermopolite village of Monoi, a certain Apollonios asks his father for assistance as he prepares for the harvest of grapes. Because the letter contains some unusual vocabulary, it is not clear if all of Apollonios' requests are related to the harvest.

P.Mich. inv. 414 belongs to a lot that was purchased by Grenfell and Kelsey in Egypt in March and April of 1920 (Michigan inventory numbers 1-534). It is catalogued in an inventory that Hunt wrote in Oxford the same year. There is a hand-written notation in the inventory that indicates that this papyrus was published in volume eleven of the *Michigan Papyri*, but this is not the case, nor is it mentioned in the commentary or notes of *P.Mich.* 11. In fact, this error is the result of a transposition of digits (inv. 441 for 414): *P.Mich.* 11 includes P.Mich. inv. 441 (= *P.Mich.* 11.611), a fact that was not noted in the inventory. This mistake probably explains why such a well-preserved and interesting text has remained unpublished until now.

This nearly complete 17-line text is written with the fibers of a light-colored papyrus sheet. The top, right, and bottom margins are intact. There is a *kollesis* 5.7 cm from the left edge. The papyrus sheet has sustained only a small amount of damage; a narrow strip that contained 2-4 letters is missing from the left side of ll. 1-8. Much of the text on the missing strip is easily reconstructed. A small tear in the center of ll. 9-11 has been repaired by a modern conserva-

¹ I dedicate this article to Jim Keenan, my dear friend and colleague in the *amicitia papyrologorum*, on the occasion of his sixty-fifth birthday. My edition of this papyrus was aided by Traianos Gagos, Ken Walters, Katy McNamee, and the anonymous referees; my thanks to them all. The image of the papyrus is reproduced with the kind permission of Traianos Gagos of the University of Michigan.

tor, but this does not impact reading. The back of the papyrus has only an ink smudge.

The writer of this text sometimes let his pen run dry, resulting in letters that are quite faint (see in particular ll. 3, 8, and 10). He then dipped his pen and wrote letters that are overly thick and dark (the most obvious example is at the end of l. 3). This also resulted in ink splatters, which are particularly frequent in the closing (ll. 14-17). The physical layout of the text is as we would expect for a letter. The name of the letter's writer and the entire second line (χαίρειν) are right-justified, dividing the greeting from the body of the letter. Likewise, the entire closing (ll. 14-17) is right-justified. The right margin is fairly jagged. The hand is quite legible and has been plausibly assigned to the third-fourth century (cf. *michigan.apis.4607*).

Spelling, grammar, and syntax are all strong here, implying a high level of literacy in the writer. For example, he uses two different types of circumstantial clauses within one sentence, one introduced by ἐπεὶ, the second a genitive absolute (ll. 3-7). Another sentence employs the particles μέν ... δέ (ll. 7-8).² There are a number of unusual words/forms. All in all, the writer leaves the impression that he was conscious of the language that he used.

The letter addresses Apollonios' concerns about completing necessary construction or repairs before the harvest, and about the harvest itself. While some obscure vocabulary items prevent complete decipherment of the content, certain elements of the letter are clear (ll. 1-9):

(1) Apollonios' father (the addressee) was supposed to send bricklayers and a plasterer but he didn't

(2) As a result (presumably), Apollonios is short-handed and, with the harvest imminent, he asks his father to send two additional laborers

(3) Apollonios considers himself overly burdened by the work he faces

From l. 9 on the text becomes a bit more difficult to understand. There are some πάτοι ("floors;" see further below) that require attention, and Apollonios needs assistance with this.

It seems most likely that the work to which Apollonios refers in this letter is connected to the harvesting of grapes from a vineyard. A few things hint at this context. Certainly the verb τρυγᾶω is used to describe harvesting grapes. Since vineyards were regularly walled,³ the bricklayers and plasterer may have been needed to repair the wall around the vineyard or some part of the pressing

² As G. Horsley, "Papyrology and the Greek Language: A Fragmentary Abecedarius of Desiderata for Future Study," *PapCongr.* XX, 62-63, points out, use of particles may imply formality, or may indicate the high level of education in the writer.

³ N. Lewis, *Life in Egypt under Roman Rule* (Oxford 1983) 125.

The possibility remains, however, that the text refers to a harvest of grain or seed (see the commentary below), and that the *πάτοι* are threshing floors. Finally, the contractors who did not show up might have nothing at all to do with the harvest, i.e., it may be that the letter simply addresses a number of unrelated issues.

III-IV

6 Μελανθίου 8 ουκ' παρ. 13 ἀμελοῦσιν 16 πατερ/ παρ.

Since you have not sent any bricklayers until now, nor the plasterer, and since indeed the time calls for it, provide two men capable of harvesting Melan-

⁵ Cf. R.S. Bagnall, "The Date of *P.Kell.* I G. 62 and the Meaning of $\chi\omega\rho\acute{\iota}\omicron\nu$," *CE* 74 (1999) 329-333.

thius' place (vineyard?). For on the 14th, or on the 15th, I am harvesting his (vineyards?), and I am too busy to finish everything. In Monoi there are the floors (?), which are late because of their size. You yourself send me the necessities for the task, keeping this very thing in mind, since those inside are always neglectful towards me.

I wish that you are well always, my lord father – may I have your help!”

3 ἄχρι δεῦρο, which adds a note of urgency, is an uncommon phrase, attested in only one other papyrus (*P.Panop.Beatty* 2.6.65). μέχρι δεῦρο, while not found with great frequency, is more common in documentary texts (12 occurrences).

5 καιροῦ καλοῦντος is another unusual phrase, occurring only three times in the papyri (*CPR* 17A.9b.2.10, *P.Cair. Masp.* 1.67020.v.6, *PLond* 5.1677.v.46).

8-9 χολήν ἄγω occurs in only two other papyri (*P.Cair.Masp.* 3.67283.p1.12 and 67295.p1.13); more common is the nearly synonymous σχολήν ἔχω.

9 For the village of Monoi, see M. Drew-Bear, *Le nome hermopolite* (Missions 1979) 174-175.

9-10 This clause presents a number of challenges. First, πάτος (a tread-upon thing, hence, a floor or path) is an obscure word that is rarely attested in Greek. Besides the interpretation suggested in the introduction above, there are several possible readings. If τρυγάω does not refer to grapes but to another kind of crop, it is possible that the πάτοι are threshing floors. The usual Greek word for threshing floor, ἀλωή,⁶ is not used in the papyri.⁷ Alternatively, there is the meaning “field,” which fits the context and is attested in a single papyrus (*PSI* 8.883.8, 2nd century CE: wheat field, πύρινον πάτον). Byzantine Greek presents a final possibility: an open-air floor or patio. Anna Comnena's *Alexiad* (12.6.2) refers to an αἶθριον ἔδαφος; a twelfth-thirteenth century translation of this text into Byzantine *koine* uses πάτος in its place.⁸ A patio (like a *lenos*) might require bricklayers and a plasterer. The meaning “path” does not appear to fit the context here.

⁶ Interestingly, ἀλωή can refer to a vineyard; if the two words are synonymous, perhaps πάτος could mean “vineyard” as well.

⁷ S. Isager and J.E. Skydsgeard, *Ancient Greek Agriculture* (London 1995) 53.

⁸ H. Hunger, *Anonyme Metaphrase zu Anna Komnene, Alexias XI-XIII* (Vienna 1981) 81. I am indebted to Leonidas Pittos for this reference.

ἐσχατίζοντες, which references πάτοι, is also problematic. This verb means “to be late,” but here perhaps it is being used as a synonym for ἐσχατεύω, “to be at the extremity.” Thus the phrase might be translated “the fields that are on the outskirts (of the estate *vel sim.*).” But it is not clear how this would go with διὰ τὸ μέγεθος.

11 εἰς is more common than πρὸς before ὑπηρεσίαν in the papyri.

12 τού<του>: the *upsilon* appears to be corrected; it seems as if the scribe started writing the *epsilon pi* of the next word prematurely.

14 The initial *epsilon* is very large. For the omission of the *upsilon* in εὔχομαι, see Gignac, *Grammar* 1:228-229.

16 The diagonal stroke following πάτερ suggests a syntactical break.

17 The initial *omicron* is very large. The aorist optative middle form of ὀνίνημι is not otherwise attested in the papyri but appears with some frequency in literature.

A Coptic Account of Pottery from the Kilns of Psabt (*P.Lond.Copt.* 1.695)¹

Terry Wilfong *University of Michigan*

Abstract

A Coptic account of pottery fired in kilns from the sixth-eighth centuries (British Library Or. 4721 (16), partially published by W.E. Crum in 1905 as *P.Lond.Copt.* 1.695) is published here for the first time in a full edition, with discussion of the possibilities for its place of origin at Psabt. The amounts of pottery listed in the account (and a number in its cryptic docket) are discussed in relation to contemporary pottery and kiln sizes from archaeological sites in Egypt, and suggestions are made as to the relationship between the account's contents and kiln capacities.

It is a pleasure to offer this text in tribute to Jim Keenan, who has been a great mentor, colleague, and friend to me over the years. Jim first introduced me to the theory and practice of papyrology, and has always seemed to me the embodiment of one of its most important principles: the *amicitia papyrologorum*. This text seems especially appropriate, as I first began my work on it in Jim's papyrology seminar in 1989. Its publication in *BASP* is likewise appropriate given Jim's publication of my own first articles in *BASP* under his editorship, and his subsequent help to me when I took over the editorship of

¹ In addition to Jim Keenan himself (for his initial encouragement to work on this papyrus), I would like to acknowledge the help of the late Dominic Montserrat (with whom I first examined this papyrus in the British Library's India Office), the late Sarah Clackson (for useful discussion of the location of Psabt), David Stone and Eleni Hasaki (for insight into pottery manufacture), Elizabeth Murphy (for suggestions on current work, especially her own, on kiln capacities), Traianos Gagos, McGuire Gibson, Clemens Reichel, and the audiences of the various presentations I have made about the project over the years. Thanks to guest-editor T.M. Hickey and the anonymous referees for comments and references. Early research on this papyrus was supported in part by a University of Chicago Edward L. Ryerson travel grant for archaeological research. The photographs accompanying this article are published courtesy of the British Library.

BASP. I would like to thank Jim for all his generousities of time, encouragement, esteem, and goodwill to me over the years.

The text published below is a Coptic documentary papyrus in the British Library, originally folded, now mounted flat under glass in a large frame containing several other Coptic papyri. The papyrus came into the British Library collection sometime before 1905 through the Austrian dealer and collector Theodor Graf. It was partially published (among other *descripta*) as *P.Lond. Copt.* 1.695: Crum gave the first three lines of the recto in full and summarized the remainder, but made no note of the verso text. Crum also provided a translation of the opening lines, but left most of the major nouns and verbs in the original language or in blanks. Although Crum published no further discussion of this text, he clearly continued to think about it, as shown by his citation in the *Coptic Dictionary*, by which point he had established the meaning of Ⲭⲉⲕⲱⲧ as pottery works.² The papyrus is undated except for an indiction year, month and day, and is written in a relatively featureless Coptic documentary uncial hand of the sort usually dated to sixth-eighth centuries CE. One might further refine this down to seventh century based on parallels,³ but this would only be a guess.

British Library Or. 4721 (16) 17.5 x 16.6 cm
(= *P.Lond.Copt.* 1.695)

Psabt (Ṣaft Rašim?)
VI-VIII CE

Recto →

- | | | | |
|---|-------------------|------------|--------|
| 1 | ΠΑΛΟΓΟC ΝΗΕΚΟΥΦΩΝ | ΕΝΤΩΚ ΜΜΔΥ | ΖΕΝ |
| | ΤΕCΕΚΩΤ ΜΠCΑΒΤ | ΖΕΝΠΚΑΡΠΟC | Γ̄ ΙΝΔ |
| | ΕΠΙΦ | Ρ̄ | |
| 4 | ΤΨΟΡΠΕ ΝΚΑΜΙΝΕ | ΚΟΥΦΩ/ | Ω |
| | Β | ΝΚΑΜΙΝΕ | ΚΟΥΦ |
| | Γ | ΝΚΑΜΙΝΕ | ΚΟΥΦ |
| | Δ | ΝΚΑΜΙΝΕ | ΚΟΥ |
| 8 | Ε | ΝΚΑΜΙΝΕ | ΚΟΥΦ |
| | Ζ | ΝΚΑΜΙΝΕ | ΚΟΥΦ |
| | Ζ | ΝΚΑΜΙΝΕ | ΚΟΥΦ |

² Crum, *Dict.* 123a, actually using the term “pottery.” Although “pottery” in English can refer to both the facilities in which ceramics are produced and to the ceramics themselves, to avoid ambiguity I am referring to the facility as “pottery works” and the product as “pottery” throughout this article.

³ There is a similarity to many letter forms in *P.Lond.Copt.* 1.445, from around 620 CE, and some apparent parallels to *PKRU* 77, from 664/5 (the latter from the facsimiles in Stegemann, *Koptische Paläographie* Taf. 9).

	H	NRΔMINΘ KOYΦΩN	Ω
12	Θ	NRΔMINΘ KOYΦN	ΩK̄
	Ī	NRΔMINΘ	ΩM
	ĪΔ	NRΔMINI	ΩM
	ĪB	NRΔMINI	ΩK
16	IF	NRΔMINΘ	ΥΠ
		//ΔΥN̄	

Verso

Ⲣ NR̄ENΔΔY ͲϬ

[Recto] “The account of the jars that we fired in the pottery-works of Psabt in the vintage, 3rd indiction, Epiph 20.

The first kiln: jars	800
2nd kiln: jars	810
3rd kiln: jars	810
4th kiln: jars	740
5th kiln: jars	800
6th kiln: jars	820
7th kiln: jars	760
8th kiln: jars	800
9th kiln: jars	820
10th kiln: (jars)	840
11th kiln: (jars)	840
12th kiln: (jars)	820
13th kiln: (jars)	780
(total) 10450 (<i>sic</i>)”	

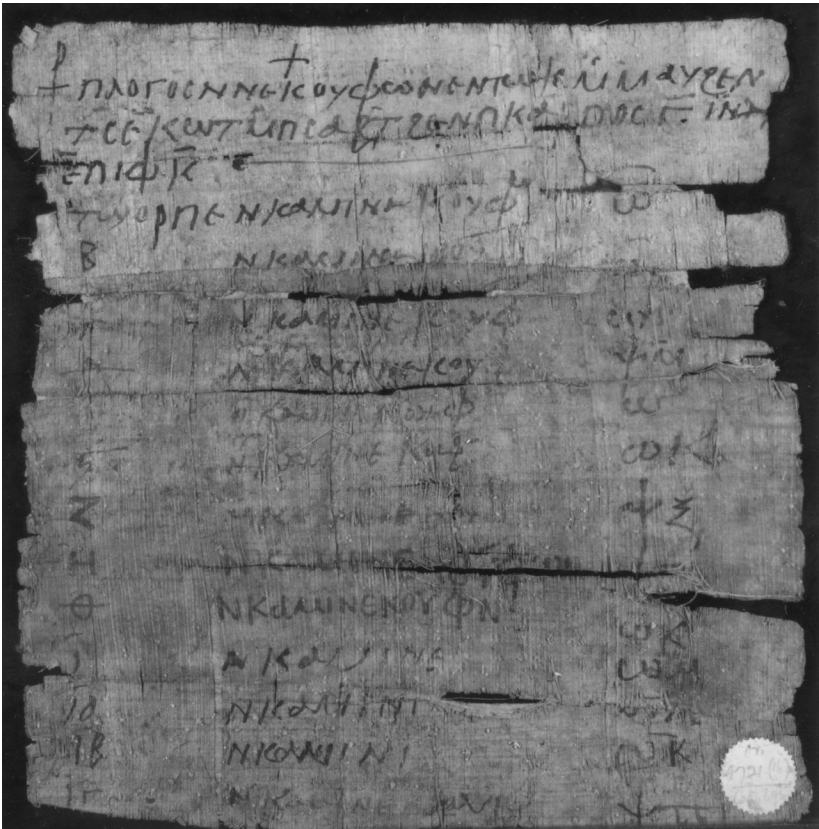
[Verso] “The ones that we made: 65”

3ff. The superlinear stroking and abbreviations are inconsistent throughout the listing.

4ff. KΔMINΘ for Greek κάμινος, “oven,” but clearly to be translated “kiln” in the context here; see Förster, *WB* 373.

17 This line is squeezed into a blank in l. 16 above. The apparent vertical traces in the photograph are, in fact, holes in which the black background shows through. Thus we have first //Δ, presumably for (ΓINETΔI) 10,000,⁴ and

⁴ For the writing of tens of thousands in Coptic texts, not an entirely standardized practice, see M.R.M. Hasitzka, *Neue Texte und Dokumentation zum Koptisch-Unterricht*



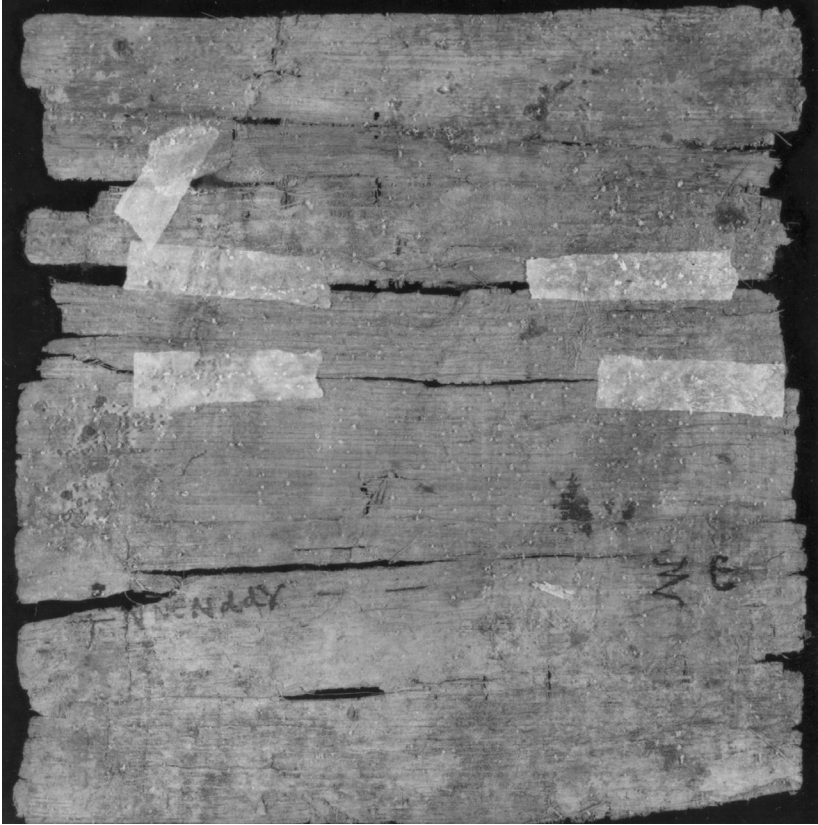
recto

last N for 50. What comes between looks like a very pulled-out Y for 400; this is far from clear, but is, for what it is worth, what Crum apparently read and does fit with what comes before as a total, although the overall total is off by 10.

Verso $\overline{\text{NN}}\overline{\text{EN}}\Delta\Delta\gamma$ Both the first and second N themselves are clear; the superlinear stroking somewhat less so. The first is, frankly, a guess, while there are traces of ink on the fibers in the break above the second N that make the second stroke likely if not certain. The inconsistency of superlinear stroking on the recto has already been noted above.

As written, except for the superlinear stroking, this looks like the Sahidic optative negative (Layton, *Coptic Grammar* §338), “We will not do/make

(Wien 1990) 233-235, 239.

*verso*

them.” This makes no sense as a docket statement in the context of the account on the recto, however, so one must ask what else it could be. Given the use of first person plural on the recto, $\text{N-}\Delta\Delta\approx\Upsilon$ “we make them” seems fine, so it is the preceding conversions that are the problem. I would suggest that this is the articulated relative preterite conversion discussed in Layton §401 (relative preterite construction) and §411 (articulation of same), using the less common variant $\Theta\text{-N}\Theta$ for the conversion, and writing $\overline{\text{N}}\overline{\text{N}}\Theta$ for $^*\overline{\text{N}}\text{-}\Theta\text{-N}\Theta$. Of course, this reading is heavily driven by the interpretation of this docket and the text itself, discussed below, but no other logical alternative seems possible.

The broken line following this phrase breaks where one would expect a seal on the folded document; five horizontal folds and one vertical fold are apparent on the original document, less so in the photograph. The verso docket

would have been written after the horizontal folding, but before the vertical fold.

This relatively brief document raises a number of questions, only some of which can be answered in the context of the present article. We will leave aside the problematic verso docket for a moment, and concentrate on the recto, explicitly stated as an account of pottery fired by at least two individuals, presumably potters, at a pottery-works in Psabt, in the vintage season in a third indiction, the account being drafted on 20 Epiph (= July 14). The account lists thirteen pottery kilns and the number of jars (*koupha*) fired in them. The term *koupha* is used in reference to “empty jars.”⁵ Each oven yielded between 760 and 840 jars, and a (slightly inaccurate) total is given at the end. The season of manufacture and the quantities of empty jars involved indicate that this account references wine jars – the two-handled *amphorae* so common in the archaeological record. Much of this information parallels to some extent the kinds of information found in other documents relating to the manufacture of pottery in Roman and Byzantine Egypt. The third century CE Oxyrhynchite leases of pottery works *P.Oxy.* 50.3595-3597 show that wine jars were typically made in Paone and Epiph (mid-May through mid-July) to be ready in Mesore and Thoth (mid-July through mid-September) for use after the harvest, and that the output of the Oxyrhynchite pottery works typically included wine jars in the tens of thousands.⁶ So our potters were making jars in advance of the harvest and processing of grapes into wine, and this account would have represented their total output to this end. Without knowing the specific sizes of jars involved in the Psabt account, it is impossible to be certain of the total capacity represented by the 10,440 jars, but it would likely have been between around 22,800 to 28,500 liters.⁷ Partnerships in the production of pottery are frequently encountered (e.g., *CPR* 14.2, *O.Crum* 306), and the fa-

⁵ See P. Mayerson, “A Note on κοῦφα ‘Empties,’” *BASP* 34 (1997) 47-52.

⁶ The Oxyrhynchite leases are the subject of the important study by H. Cockle, “Pottery Manufacture in Roman Egypt,” *JRS* 71 (1981) 87-97, from which these summaries derive.

⁷ Wine jars in this period tended to have capacities of between 3-8 *sextarii*. In the area from which this account is likely to come, wine jars most often seem to be between 4 and 5 *sextarii*. At a conventional equivalent of 0.546 l. = 1 *sextarius*, this would be between 2.184 l. and 2.73 l. capacity per jar, hence the range of approx. 22,800 l. to 28,500 l. overall capacity. See N. Kruit and K.A. Worp, “Metrological Notes on Measures and Containers of Liquids in Graeco-Roman and Byzantine Egypt,” *APF* 45 (1999) 96-127 at 111-117 and 121.

cilities employed by potters are enumerated in pottery-works leases like the Oxyrhynchite leases and *P.Cair.Masp.* 1.67110.⁸

The location of our pottery works in Psabt raises the question of precisely which of the known towns of this name is meant. Psabt or Psabet is known from a number of Coptic sources,⁹ and is clearly from Demotic (and earlier) *pꜣsbt* “the wall” (Erichsen, *Glossar* 423-424), which frequently appears in Greek papyri as Psobthis or Sobthis and is the origin of the common Arabic place-name component “Ṣaṭ.” Crum categorized the origin of the papyrus as vaguely “Middle Egyptian,” but with no explicitly stated reason for doing so. Towns called Psobthis or Sobthis are attested throughout Egypt, and even in the Middle Egyptian Arsinoite, Herakleopolite, Oxyrhynchite and Hermopolite nomes (from which this text is most likely to come) there are several possibilities.¹⁰ The commonness of this name is a difficulty, as our papyrus contains no indication of the location of the town and is of unknown archaeological provenance. There is no indirect evidence in the pottery account itself of its place of origin – there are, for example, no other geographical references or helpful dialectal features. The papyrus was acquired by or through Viennese antiquities dealer Theodor Graf (1840-1903), perhaps best known to papyrologists for his acquisition of the vast trove of Greek papyri from the Arsinoite nome in 1877-78 for the collection of Archduke Rainer.¹¹ The Graf provenance may suggest a Fayum findspot for the text, but this is far from certain. A cluster of documents either excavated or purchased by William Flinders Petrie at Deir el-Hammam (some 3 miles north of Lahun) in 1889 contains suggestive clues of a relationship with our account and the location of its Psabt. These papyri were

⁸ *P.Cair.Masp.* 1.67110 is translated in J. Rowlandson (ed.), *Women and Society in Greek and Roman Egypt* (Cambridge 1998) 262-263, document 197; useful discussion on the technical terminology of this papyrus appears in P. van Minnen, “Notes on Texts from Graeco-Roman Egypt,” *ZPE* 96 (1993) 117-118. For the Roman-period Greek papyrological documentation of pottery manufacture, see now A.W. Mees, *Organisationsformen römischer Töpfer-Manufakturen am Beispiel von Arezzo und Rheinzabern, unter Berücksichtigung von Papyri, Inschriften und Rechtsquellen* (Mainz 2002), 1:209-300 with full translations of relevant documents at 2:362-409.

⁹ Timm 4:2015-2017, with some discussion of the present text.

¹⁰ See R. Müller-Wollermann, “Map 75: Memphis-Oxyrhynchus,” in R.J.A. Talbert (ed.), *Map-by-Map Directory to Accompany the Barrington Atlas of the Greek and Roman World* (Princeton 2000) 1125-1138, and M. Falivene, *The Herakleopolite Nome* (Atlanta 1998) 11-12, 195-199, 259.

¹¹ Graf is also known, of course, for his acquisition of the Amarna tablets for the Berlin Museum in 1888 and his large collection of mummy portraits that circulated through Europe and America in a traveling exhibition before their dispersal; see M.L. Bierbrier (ed.), *Who was Who in Egyptology*³ (London 1995) 173.

first published by Crum in *P.Fay.Copt.*, and some later republished in *P.Lond.Copt.* 1; the close proximity of these documents to our pottery account in the latter publication suggest that Crum saw a relationship between them. Three of the papyri from this group explicitly mention a toponym “Psabet,” while a fourth contains interesting parallels to our pottery account.

P.Fay.Copt. 35 is a fragmentary legal document that begins with a first person statement: “I, [...], living in Psabet, in the district of [...]” (ⲉⲓⲱⲟⲟⲡ ⲓⲛ ⲡⲥⲁⲃⲉⲧ ⲓⲛ ⲡⲧⲟⲩ ⲙⲓ[...]); maddeningly, this line breaks off before naming the district in which this Psabet was located, although the assumption is that it is in the same general region as the findspot of these papyri. The account *P.Fay.Copt.* 51 (= *P.Lond.Copt.* 1.679) contains reference to someone (name lost) from Psabet (b 2); also references to *koupha* and possibly kilns (a 6), as well as numbers suggestive of the totals in our pottery account (a 9, b 2-3, 4). Further mention of Psabet is found in *P.Fay.Copt.* 45 (= *P.Lond.Copt.* 1.692), an extensive account of wine (possibly for a wine merchant) distributed to named individuals in *diplo*. Three of the individuals listed are from Psabet (verso 1 13, b 17, 18); at least two other individuals in the account (Chael in recto a 3, b 5, b 24, verso b 17, likely in reference to the same person, and Shenoute in recto b 6) are identified as potters (ⲕⲉⲣⲁⲙⲉⲱⲥ). The association of *koupha*, potters and Psabet in the Deir el Hammam documents is very suggestive of a relationship with our pottery account, and this possible relationship is further strengthened by a fourth papyrus from Deir el Hammam. *P.Fay.Copt.* 54 (= *P.Lond.Copt.* 1.694) contains two apparently unrelated texts in different hands: a collection of tax payments that may mention Herakleopolis (ⲓⲛⲏⲥ) and an account of *koupha* that is similar to our pottery account. Crum read the account as follows:

- 1 ⲡⲕⲟⲓⲟⲥ ⲛⲉⲕⲟⲩⲫⲟⲛ
 ⲕⲟⲩⲣ/ ⲗⲛ
 ⲕⲟⲩⲣ/ ⲱⲗ
 4 ⲕⲟⲩⲣ/ ⲭ.
 ⲕⲟⲩⲣ/ ⲭⲡ
 ⲕⲟⲩⲣ/ ⲱⲕ
 [ⲕⲟⲩⲣ/] ⲱⲛ
 8 [ⲕⲟⲩ]ⲣ/ ⲱ.
 [ⲕⲟ]ⲩⲣ/ .

Crum describes this text as an account of wine in jars (*koupha*) measured in *kouri* – a standard capacity of wine jars.¹² But this is unlikely; accounts of

¹² See Kruit and Worp (n. 7) 110-111.

wine are almost invariably headed ΠΛΟΓΟΣ ΜΠΗΡΠ or something similar, as in, e.g., *P.Ryl.Copt.* 254 or the much closer parallel of *P.Lond.Copt.* 1.691, from Pouait, known from various *P.Fay.Copt.* papyri as well, and one might expect the measurements to be given in *dipla*, as in *P.Fay.Copt.* 45. So *P.Fay.Copt.* 54 is, in fact, an account of empty jars, *koupha*, of *kouri* measure, not wine. Given the breakdown of per-kiln production in totals of *koupha* rather than by more specific terms in our pottery account, I must wonder whether the instances of ΚΟΥΡ/ in *P.Fay.Copt.* 54 are read correctly. This is impossible to verify without having seen the papyrus, but I would note that the difference between ΚΟΥΡ/ and ΚΟΥΦ/ would not be so great in the hand of our pottery account. Whatever the reading of this abbreviation, the totals (between 650 and 860) are extremely similar to those for individual kilns in our pottery account, and it is likely that *P.Fay.Copt.* 54 is another listing of pottery production by kiln. Further, it is not at all far fetched to suggest that this account may pertain to the same pottery works at the same Psabt/Psabet, and that this would be near Deir el Hammam. This would rule out the Hermopolite possibilities and, although one of the Arsinoite candidates is a possibility, the connection of the Deir el Hammam papyri to the Herakleopolite nome perhaps makes the Sobthis tentatively identified as modern Şaft Raşim the most likely possibility.¹³

Beyond the matters of place of origin and relationships between our pottery account and the Deir el Hammam papyri, the similarity of totals of jars in the two accounts of pottery raises the question of what these accounts tell about the process of manufacturing pottery in late antique Egypt. Greek and Coptic documentary papyri relating to pottery works are well known; much of the scholarly attention in this area has concentrated on Greek leases of pottery works (e.g. *P.Oxy* 50.3595-3597, *P.Cair.Masp.* 1.67110). Such leases provide valuable information about the facilities included in pottery works and, by extension, about the manufacture of pottery itself – we get some idea of the circumstances under which pottery was made, and typical yields of pottery works' total production. But such leases do not give kiln-by-kiln totals of the sort found in our account; amounts of pottery in leases tend to be fractions of total production paid as rent. Potters themselves would have received a small number of jars as a perquisite, as in *CPR* 14.2, but this does not seem to have been any regular percentage of the total production. To understand what the totals for individual kilns in the Psabt account mean (and to suggest an explanation of the cryptic verso docket), we need to examine the archaeological record for contemporary pottery works and their kilns.

¹³ See Falivene (n. 10) 198-199, and Müller-Wollermann (n. 10) 1130.

Pottery kilns survive in Egypt from as early as the Predynastic Period (an example from ca. 3650 BCE), and as early as the Old Kingdom one finds the basic type of kiln, the updraught kiln, that persists, with variations and elaborations, into the Roman and Byzantine periods.¹⁴ The great majority of work done on pottery kilns and pottery works in Egypt has concentrated on the pharaonic period, but there are numerous kilns known from the Roman period in Egypt, and many have been published, perhaps the best known being the several first-third century CE kilns at the Dakhla Oasis.¹⁵ Indeed the Dakhla Oasis provides a useful example of what seems to be a multi-kiln pottery works: five kilns and seven associated rooms at Site 33/390-L9-1 at Amheida. Kilns and pottery works are known from periods closer to our Psabt papyrus, but they are not so well published. A single kiln, possibly sixth or seventh century, is known from the Theban Valley of the Queens Tomb 54, published with two much later kilns (tenth to eleventh centuries) at Tod.¹⁶ The site of the Monastery of Apa Jeremias at Saqqara preserves a pottery works containing six kilns, with two more nearby, built into an older pre-sixth century CE building to the southwest of the monastery.¹⁷

Perhaps the closest parallel in time and extent to the Psabt pottery works is at the site of Gurna in Western Thebes, where the remains of a pottery works consisting of eight kilns were uncovered in excavations at the Seti I temple.¹⁸ The extensive pottery remains at the site led the excavators to date the kilns to roughly the same period as the Psabt account, sixth-eighth century CE. The pottery from the site is lavishly published, but the pottery works is, so far, only known from a brief description in the introduction of the pottery corpus and an overview sketch plan. Still, even from the cursory publication, one can get an idea of how the Psabt pottery works may have looked. The eight kilns are dispersed irregularly in an area of just over 30 by 40 meters, built among the ruins of the "Palace" of the Seti I mortuary temple, near the remains of a house

¹⁴ P. Nicholson, "The Firing of Pottery," in D. Arnold and J. Bourriau (eds.), *An Introduction to Ancient Egyptian Pottery* (Mainz 1993) 103-120 at 108 and 116; this article is an essential reference in general.

¹⁵ C.A. Hope, "Pottery Kilns from the Oasis at el-Dakhla," in Arnold and Bourriau (n. 14) 121-127 at 123-127, with references there to earlier, fuller publications.

¹⁶ G. Lecuyot and G. Pierrat, "À propos des lieux de production de quelques céramiques trouvées à Tôd et dans la Vallée des Reines," *Cahiers de la Céramique Égyptienne* 3 (1992) 173-180, and an image of the Valley of the Queens kiln in C. Leblanc, *Ta Set Neferou. Une nécropole de Thèbes-Ouest et son histoire* (Cairo 1989) Pl 132.

¹⁷ H. Ghaly, "Pottery Workshops of Saint-Jeremia (Saqqara)," *Cahiers de la Céramique Égyptienne* 3 (1992) 161-171.

¹⁸ K. Mysliwiec, *Keramik und Kleinfunde aus der Grabung im Tempel Sethos' I. in Gurna* (Mainz am Rhein 1987) 15-19, plan 1 on p. 16.

of the late period. There does not seem to be an overall pattern to the placement of kilns on the site, although there may be intentional pairings of at least some of the kilns.¹⁹ There is no trace, at least on the published plan, of an associated workshop, so it is impossible to be certain what facilities were connected with it. Large amounts of pottery found in and around the kilns suggest a wide range of types of pottery made here – from fine Egyptian Red Slip Ware to coarser wares, including a number of wine jars – two-handled *amphorae* – of the sort referred to as *koupha* in the Psabt account.²⁰ The similarity of the Gurna pottery to pottery from related nearby sites, such as the Monastery of Epiphanius and town of Jeme, suggest that the Gurna pottery works may have supplied pottery to the wider region. Although not quite as extensive as the pottery works in the Psabt account, the Gurna pottery works does help us understand what the numbers in the account and its cryptic docket might mean.

The Psabt account lists kilns and totals of wine jars fired in them, and so the existence of actual kilns from the time of the papyrus allows us to get some idea of how the totals in the account might relate to kiln capacity. Are the 760 to 840 jars per kiln the result of a single firing, or multiple firings? The contemporary kilns are generally round, and with a few exceptions, tend to have a diameter of around 1.5 meters. The heights of the firing chambers for pottery are more variable (and in some cases cannot be determined from the publications), but seem to average between 1.5 and 2 meters. Thus, a typical, roughly cylindrical, kiln might have had a firing capacity of between 2.65 and 3.53 cubic meters. Estimating the number of jars this space might have accommodated is complicated and must remain, to a large extent, guesswork. Wine jars, although very consistent in form, do vary in size. For the extensive group of wine jars from the Monastery of Epiphanius excavations, the average size seems to be about 30 cm in diameter and 70 cm in height.²¹ To arrive at a very rough estimate of the space that each wine jar would take up, I envision the wine-jars as two cones, joined at their bases (= the widest point on the jar),

¹⁹ Kilns 3 and 4, and 7 and 8 in particular, possibly also 5 and 6.

²⁰ Mysliwiec (n. 18) 163-164, nos. 2015-2026 in the corpus. These are the two-handled, ribbed *amphorae* so common throughout Egypt in the Byzantine period.

²¹ This measurement is based on my own observations of the Epiphanius material, now in the Oriental Institute Museum, University of Chicago. H.E. Winlock gives rather smaller average sizes of jar: some at 20 cm diameter and 60 cm height, and others at 25 cm diameter and 50 cm height, for which see H.E. Winlock and W.E. Crum, *The Monastery of Epiphanius at Thebes* (New York 1926) 1:78-79; the basis for Winlock's measurements is not clear from the publication.

and thus calculate the volume as 0.0165 cubic meters.²² The capacity of the kilns estimated above could theoretically accommodate between 160 and 214 of such jars at a time, probably somewhat fewer given the realities of stacking real *amphorae* rather than joined cones into a kiln. Even if the numbers vary somewhat, it is clear that the totals in the Psabt account are too much for a single firing; given the average of about 800 jars per kiln in the account, and the lower capacity of a Gurna oven at 160 jars, the totals could easily represent five firings of wine jars.

This possibility of five firings for each of the 13 kilns brings us back to the verso docket: “The ones that we made: 65.” Could it be that this statement is in reference to the number of firings of pottery – five for each of the thirteen kilns for a total of 65 firings? This would fit very neatly with the number of ovens, the “65” of the docket, the totals of jars and the calculations above, and may well be appropriate for a docket of this sort. With the two crucial variables – actual Psabt kiln size and actual size of wine jars fired in these kilns – so uncertain, I hesitate to claim this as a definite solution but suggest it as a possibility. The relationship between the “65” of the docket and the thirteen kilns is suggestive, and the preliminary calculations of capacity seem to support this. The recent research by Delphine Dixneuf towards identifying centers of production of *amphorae* in Middle Egypt by pottery types should prove useful in narrowing down jar sizes and perhaps also kiln sizes in the region,²³ and the ongoing work of Fatma Mahmoud on ceramic production will be essential as well.²⁴ In addition to the uncertain sizes of Psabt kilns and jars, there are many aspects of the manufacture of pottery that may come into play: methods of stacking pottery in kilns would affect the total capacity, and the certainty of “wasters” – unusable wine jars – in the production process would have also had an impact on the ultimate numbers of usable jars listed in the account. The ethnoarchaeological

²² Using joined cones rather than cylinders more closely approximates the shapes of the wine jars – pointed *amphorae*, after all – while allowing for space lost and gained in the stacking of jars. Note that this volume of the jar itself will of course be far greater than the capacity of the jars, discussed above. Obviously, more precise calculations might be made with computer simulations or even scale models; for some examples and references, see E. Murphy, *Speaking Volumes about Production: Innovative Approaches towards the Study of Roman Table Wares* (MA thesis, Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, 2007; I thank Ms. Murphy for a copy of this fascinating research).

²³ D. Dixneuf, “Productions d’amphores en moyenne Égypte au cours des périodes romaine et byzantine à la lumière des découvertes archéologiques,” *Copt. Congr. VIII* 1:167-178.

²⁴ See F. Mahmoud, “Organisation des ateliers de potiers en Égypte du Bas-Empire à la conquête arabe: Les productions céramiques égyptiennes,” *Copt. Congr. VIII* 1:267-278 with references.

work of Paul Nicholson and Helen Patterson on the manufacture of pottery at Deir el Ballas gives useful comparanda for these questions,²⁵ as does the extensive archaeological work done at pottery works sites elsewhere in the Mediterranean.²⁶ There is even, of course, the possibility that the “65” could be unrelated or only tangentially related to the capacity of kilns – it could be the number of jars received by the potters as their perquisite (as in *CPR* 14.2), the number of “wasters” (in which case “we will not make them” might indeed be the more appropriate reading of the docket), or even the number of trips or loads it took to deliver the jars (which may have been done kiln-by-kiln and thus related to the 13 kilns), although perhaps only the first of these alternatives seems likely for a docket. In any case, these lines of inquiry go far beyond the remit of the present text edition, but they may well repay future research.

²⁵ P. Nicholson and H. Patterson, “Pottery Making in Upper Egypt: An Ethnoarchaeological Study,” *World Archaeology* 17.2 (1985) 222-239; P. Nicholson and H. Patterson, “The Ballas Pottery Project,” *Anthropology Today* 1.2 (1985) 16-18.

²⁶ See the bibliography in the Murphy thesis cited above (n. 22).

P.Flor. 1.64: A Re-edition

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Abstract

This paper contains a complete re-edition of *P.Flor.* 1.64, part of an early 4th-century land register from the Hermopolite nome published originally in 1906 and later (in 1928) enlarged by fragments from the collection of the Graeco-Roman Museum in Alexandria. The re-edition integrates various parts of the original register and contains a number of corrections of reading and interpretation.

The papyrus collection in the Istituto papirologico “G. Vitelli” in Florence keeps in its rich collection a set of three fragments of a land register from the Hermopolite nome, datable by considerations of prosopography and handwriting to the early 4th century CE. More than a century ago, in 1906, this text was published for the first time by G. Vitelli as *P.Flor.* 1.64, fragments a-c. Later Vitelli discovered an additional fragment, joining *P.Flor.* 1.64 fragm. c, in the Graeco-Roman Museum at Alexandria and published it in *BSAA* 23 = n.s. 6 (1928) 299-300 (cf. *BL* 2.2:58) without mentioning an Alexandrian inventory number for the fragment. It may be inferred that at a certain moment Vitelli succeeded in having this fragment transferred from Alexandria to Florence. The fragment is not listed in the inventory lists in *P.Alex.*, which appeared in 1964. Remarkably enough, *P.Alex.* does not even mention Vitelli’s publication in *BSAA*; evidently it had escaped notice (cf. the introduction, pp. vi, viii). Moreover, when P.J. Sijpesteijn and I myself worked on the Florentine papyrus three decades ago (see *ZPE* 29, 1978, 267-269), because it bore some similarity with texts that we had published in *P.Herm.Landlisten*, we obtained through the kindness of Rosario Pintaudi (Florence) black and white photos of the Florentine papyrus fragments which showed the Alexandrian fragment mounted in its correct position with respect to fragment c; this photo was printed in *ZPE* 29, Taf. XVI.

In the past various scholars have proposed corrections for this text that were reported in *BL* 1:144-145, 456 (listing as the authors of such corrections U. Wilcken, G. Vitelli, F. Preisigke, B.P. Grenfell, and A.S. Hunt), 7:49-50 (P.J. Sijpesteijn and K.A. Worp), and 8:125 (M. Drew-Bear). For a better under-

standing of the structure of this register, a completely new transcription, integrating these corrections and also the additional fragment from Alexandria seems useful. A reprint of the complete text was announced already in *BL* 7:49: “Neudruck – vorgesehen in *S.B.* 18,” but for some unknown reason this intention was never realized and to date it has remained, therefore, a desideratum. The present occasion allows me the opportunity, moreover, to suggest a few new readings.

Similar Hermopolite 4th-century land registers were collected and discussed in *P.Herm.Landlisten*; for similar lists of land published later, see now *CPR* 6.30 and 17A.25 (both early IV) and *P.NYU* 2.7 (IV); these, however, present only rather general data on “who” owned “what” and “where;” the present papyrus describes the actual location of (mostly rented) plots of land and their mode of cultivation in greater detail. These plots appear to be distributed over various parts of the Hermopolite Nome and do not constitute one single unit.

Fragment A, Recto

1-6 (m. 1) traces of 6 lines

7 [ca. ?]ωνος vacat ιδι(ωτικῆς) χέρ(σου) άσπ(όρου) (άρουρ-) . .

8 δι(ά) Κάστ[ο]ρ[ο]ς ἐν Σενιλά(εως) μισθωτοῦ τὸ (τρίτον) τῆς
[μισθώσεως]

9 Πρακ(τορίας) Σιναλαβῆ χωρισίμων Ἴκεως ὄνόμα(τος) Φιλάμμωνος

10 λδ' κοί(της) ἐκ τ[ο]ῦ Ἀνδρίσκου καὶ Μολο[σ]σοῦ ιδι(ωτικῆς)
ἐσπ(αρμένης) (ἄρ.) ιβ

11 (m. 2) (ὑπὲρ) (m. 1) φόρου ἀποτάκτου κατ' ἔτος (τάλαντα) γ

12 δι(ά) Βήκιος Πεκύσιος καὶ Πόλλωνος Παχύμιος καὶ Παθώτου

13 Ἀτρήτος καὶ Πετβῆτος Πε . [. . . .] ἀπὸ Ἴκεως.

14 καὶ ὄνόμα(τος) Ἰσιδώρου ἱερονίκου

15 ε' κοί(της) ἐκ τοῦ Σατύρου καὶ Φιλοξένου ιδι(ωτικῆς) χέρ(σου)
ἀσπ(όρου) (ἄρ.) γ

16 φόρου ἀποτάκτου (τάλ.) α

17 δι(ά) Σιλ[βανο]ῦ λεγομένου Γραμματέως.

18 Πρακ(τορίας) Τιμώ[ν]θεως ὄνόμα(τος) Θεωνίλλης

19 α' κοί(της) ἐκ τοῦ Ζευξιλάου ιδι(ωτικῆς) ἐ(σ)π(αρμένης) (ἄρουναι) ςd/

20 φόρου ἀποτάκτου ἀντὶ τῶν δημοσίων

21 δι(ά) Ὀλυμπιοδώρου υἱοῦ Ὑπερεχίου.

22 τοῦ α(ὐτοῦ) κλήρου ἰδι(ωτικῆς) χέρ(σου) θρυίτι(δος) ἀσπ(όρου)
(ἄρ.) δf

10 Ἀνδρίσκου

Fragment A, Verso

23 [τά]κτου [κατ']
24 [ἐ]γῆαυτὸν παρ' ἐγῆαυτὸν []
25 [] χορτικῶ (δραχμαί) Δ' ἐπιπ[]
26 δι(ὰ) Σιλβανοῦ κρατίστου []

27 Βουνῶν Κλεοπάτρας ὀνόμα(τος) Φιλάμμωνος
28 ςf κοί(της) ἐκ τοῦ Ἀχιλλέως ἰδι(ωτικῆς) ἐ(σ)π(αρμένης) (ἄρ.) d'
29 ἀνὰ (πυροῦ) (ἀρτάβης) ς' καὶ ἀργ(υρίου) (τάλ.) α'
30 δι(ὰ) Ἀχιλλέως τοῦ κ[α]l Ἑρμείνου ἀντὶ τῆς τοῦ κομόδου []

31 Πρακ(τορία) Βουσίρεως [ὀνό]μα(τος) Εὐστοργίου
32 ἐκ τοῦ Ἀριστίππου ἰδι(ωτικῆς) ἐ(σ)π(αρμένης) (ἄρ.) ιβf'
33 βασι(λικῆς) ἐ(σ)π(αρμένης) (ἄρ.) β
34 ἰδιοσπορούμεναι vacat

35 Πρακ(τορία) [Σ]ινκερὴ ὄγ[ό]μα(τος) Εὐστοργίου χ[ω]ρισ(ίμων)
Ἄρεως
36 ἐκ [τοῦ] Ἀρίστωνος ἰδι(ωτικῆς) [ἐ(σ)]π(αρμένης) (ἄρ.) af
37 φόρ[ου ἀπο]τάκτου μετὰ τὰ δημόσια (πυροῦ) (ἀρτ.) af (δρ.) ἴΤ
38 δι(ὰ) κληρ(ονόμων) Λώιος ἀπὸ Ἄρεως.

39 ἐκ τοῦ Σατυρίωνος ἰδι(ωτικῆς) ἐ(σ)π(αρμένης) (ἄρ.) ε
40 ἐκ τοῦ Μοσχίωνος ἰδι(ωτικῆς) ἐ(σ)π(αρμένης) (ἄρ.) ε
41 φόρου ἀπο[τ]άκτου μετὰ τὰ δημόσια (πυροῦ) (ἀρτ.) ι (τάλ.) γ (δρ.) ἴΒ
42 δι(ὰ) Κελελ[ύ]τιος καὶ κοινωνῶν ἀπὸ Ἄρεως.

Fragment B, Recto

43] ἱερᾶς γῆς ἐ(σ)π(αρμένης) (ἄρ.) []
44] χωρίου Τερίννα
45] φοριμ() (ἄρ.) γ . .
46] . . . (ἄρ.) γ
47]ρ() (ἄρ.) Ld
48] χέρ(σου) ἀμπ(ελ-) (ἄρ.) δ

13 lines not transcribed, among which

- 58 traces τέκτονος traces
 59 traces (ἀρτάβαι) traces
 60 traces (ἀρτάβαι) traces
-

Fragment B, Verso

- 62 [Πρακ(τορία) Τεμ]σεὺ Σκόρδ[ων]
 63 [] ὀνόμα(τος) Εὐστοργ[ίου]
 64 [ἐ]κ [τοῦ] Πρωταγόρ[ου]
 65 ἐκ τοῦ Λεπτίνου [
 66 ἐν πυρῶ καὶ χόρτῳ κατὰ τ[ὸ ἥμισυ
 67 ὁμοῦ (πυροῦ) (ἀρτ.) πζζ' [
 68 δι(ὰ) κληρ(ονόμων) Εὐστεφίου [
 69 γῆς λεγομένης Τε[? τὰ μὲν ἐν]
 70 ὁσπρέοις τὰ ἐν χόρ[τῳ]
 71 υ() ? (ἄρ.) κ ἐπὶ πλέον ἢ [ἔλαττον
 72 δηλουμένων ε . . . [
 73 τὸ (τέταρτον) δι(ὰ) κληρ(ονόμων) Εὐ[
 74 γεωργίου παρορίου [
 traces of 4 lines
-

Fragment C + a fragment from the Alexandria Museum, Recto (cf. *ZPE* 29, 1978, 268-270 + Taf. XVI)

- 79 [σ ? χ]ωρι[σίμων ?
 80 ἐκ τοῦ Νιλέως καὶ Ἰσιδ[ώρου]
 81 φόρου ἀποτάκτου κατ' ἔ[νιαυτὸν
 82 καὶ φυ[.] τευ[. . .] καὶ . [
 83 δι(ὰ) Ἀμμωνίου Πα[
 84 τόπων Λιλήου ὄ[σου] ἔσ[τιν] ἀρουρηδοῦ
 85 ἐφ' ἡμισίᾳ τῶν καρπῶν τὸ (ἥμισυ)
 86 δι(ὰ) κληρ(ονόμων) Μώρου
 87 ἐκ τοῦ Πρωταγόρου χέρ(σου) καλαμ() (ἄρ.) ς
 88 φόφου ἀποτάκτου κειμίων (ἀρτ.) β (τάλ.) α
 89 δι(ὰ) Παμούνιος Αὐ[

80 Νειλέως 85 ἡμισίᾳ

Fragment C + a fragment from the Alexandria Museum, Verso (cf. ZPE 29, 1978, Taf. XVI)

-
- 90] βασιλικῆς ἐ(σ)π(αρμένης) (ἄρ.) βLdη
 91] ιερᾶς γῆς (ἄρ.) ad
 92] ιερ(ᾶς) χέρ(σου) [χέ[ρ(σου)] (ἄρ.) Ld
 93] κατὰ (τρίτον) μισθώσεως
 94] βασιλικῆς ἐ(σ)π(αρμένης) (ἄρ.) βLdη
 95] ιερᾶς γῆς (ἄρ.) ad'
 96] ιερ(ᾶς) {χέ[ρ(σου)]} (ἄρ.) d'
 96a ιδιοσπορο[ύμ]εγ[αι ?
- 97 ς κοί(της) Πολιάνθου ὀνόμ[(ατος) . . .] . ξίου οὐσ(ιακῆς)
 [ἐ(σ)]π(αρμένης) (ἄρ.) ι
 98] οὐσ(ιακῆς) χέρ(σου) (ἄρ.) [.]
 99 ὁμοῦ (ἄρ.) κδ κατὰ τὸ (ἥμισυ)· τῆς μὲν ἐν πυρῶ
 100 τῆς <δὲ> ἐν χόρτῳ (δρ.) ᾿Γ, (τάλ.) ς·
 101 δι(ᾶ) ᾿Ελπιδίου καὶ ᾿Ατρῆτος καὶ ᾿Ισιδώρου.
- 102 αἱ λοιπ(αἱ) χέρ(σου) (ἄρ.) η (τάλ.) β· δι(ᾶ) Ταβόιτος ἀπὸ Ταγοῦπ[εως
 103 καὶ τῶν ἄλλω(ν) (ἄρ.) δ· δ[ιὰ Πα]γισνεῦτος ἀπὸ Τανούπεως
 104 . ημ[] vacat
- 105 [] . . . [] ργίου ἰδι(ωτικῆς) ἐ(σ)π(αρμένης) (ἄρ.) ιη
-

The text contains various simple entries (ll. 9-13; 14-17; 27-30; 31-34; 90-96a), while more complicated entries are to be found in ll. 18-21-26; 35-38-42; 62-68-74; 79-83-86-89; 97-101-104 (cf. also ll. 90-93-96a). In general, a single standard entry consists of an indication of:¹

(a) the *praktoria* of a Hermopolite village (cf. l. 9n.), followed by:

(b) the name of the owner of a certain plot of land. These owners are in principle not the same people as those actually cultivating the plot in question (see below for the entries in ll. 31-34 and 91-96a);

(c) the κοίτη to which the plot belonged (cf. l. 10n.);

¹ Sometimes individual elements within an entry may change their regular place or simply be omitted.

(d) the *kleros* in which the plot was situated;

(e) the quality and size of the leased plot of land; the various land quality indications are (in alphabetical order):²

ll. 33, 90, 94:	βασιλική ἐ(σ)π(αρμένη)
ll. 7, 15:	ιδιωτική χέρσος ἄσπ(ορος)
l. 10:	ιδιωτική ἐσπ(αρμένη)
ll. 19, 28, 32, 36, 39, 40, 105:	ιδιωτική ἐ(σ)π(αρμένη)
l. 22:	ιδιωτική χέρσος θρυτίς ἄσπ(ορος)
ll. 91, 95:	ἱερὰ γῆ
l. 43:	ἱερὰ ἐ(σ)π(αρμένη)
ll. 92, 96:	ἱερὰ χέρσος
l. 97:	οὐσιακή ἐ(σ)π(αρμένη)
l. 98, cf. 102: ³	οὐσιακή χέρσος
l. 45:	] φοριμ()
l. 48:	χέρ(σος) ἀμπ(ελ)
l. 87:	χέρ(σος) καλαμ()

Plot sizes vary between 0.25 *aroura* (l. 28) and 24 *arourai* (l. 99); l. 67 (see below, under f) seems to suggest that one owner may have rented out 29 or even 58 *arourai*;

(f) the kind of rent and its amount:

- l. 8: 1/3 part of the crop of an unknown amount of *arourai*
- l. 11: 3 *tal.* per year for 12 *ar.* (= 1 *tal.* for 4 *ar.*) of private sown (wheat?) land
- l. 16: 1 *tal.* for 3 *ar.* of private unsown dry land
- l. 20: payment equals the public taxes on a plot of 6 1/4 *ar.* of private sown land
- l. 25: 4000 *dr.* (= 2/3 *tal.*) for a plot of unknown size and quality; for the amount see below, n. *ad loc.*
- l. 29: 1/6 *art.* of wheat + 1 *tal.* for 1/4 *ar.* of private sown land (= 4 *tal.* + 2/3 *art.* of wheat for 1 *ar.*), instead of the ... of a gift
- l. 37: after deduction of the public taxes (evidently to be paid by the lessee), 1 *art.* + 3000 *dr.* (= 1/2 *tal.*) for 1 *ar.* of private sown land

² A different land status indication is found in the word *ἰδιοσπορούμεναι* (see ll. 34, 96a); this term indicates how the plots in question were cultivated, i.e. by their respective owners themselves.

³ In l. 102, *οὐσιακή* is lacking but apparently it must be understood.

- l. 41: after deduction of the public taxes (evidently to be paid by the lessee), 10 *art.* + 3 $\frac{1}{3}$ *tal.* for 5 + 5 *ar.* (= 1 *art.*, $\frac{1}{3}$ *tal./ar.*) of private sown land
- l. 67: together 87 *art.* of wheat and [...] for *chortos* cultivated on a 50/50 basis on a plot of unknown size. At a rate of 3 *art.* wheat/*ar.*, this would be the crop of 29 *ar.* of wheat land, while in principle there would have to be another 29 *ar.* of *chortos*-land. If, however, only wheat was paid for rent, the total size of the plot was 29 *ar.*
- l. 73: $\frac{1}{4}$ part of the crop. for a plot of ca. 20 *ar.*
- l. 81: lost
- l. 85: $\frac{1}{2}$ of the crop
- l. 88: 2 *art.* of *kemia* + 1 *tal.* for 6 *ar.* of dry reed land
- l. 93: $\frac{1}{3}$ of the crop
- l. 99: $\frac{1}{2}$ of the crop harvested on the wheat land + 3000 *dr.* (= $\frac{1}{2}$ *tal.*) on *chortos*-land, producing a total of 6 *tal.* (= apparently the rent of 12 *ar.* of *chortos*-land)
- l. 102: 2 *tal.* for 8 *ar.* of *chersos*-land (i.e. $\frac{1}{4}$ *tal./ar.*)

As to the rent level, one finds for rent in money (converted into payments for units of 1 *aroura*; amounts given in ascending order):

- l. 11: $\frac{1}{4}$ *tal.* per 1 *ar.* of private sown (wheat?) land
- l. 16: $\frac{1}{3}$ *tal.* per 1 *ar.* of private unsown dry land
- l. 29: 4 *tal.* + $\frac{2}{3}$ *art.* of wheat for 1 *ar.* of private sown(?) land, instead of the ... of a gift
- l. 37: $\frac{1}{2}$ *tal.* + 1 *art.* of wheat for 1 *ar.* of private sown (?) land, after deduction of the public taxes
- l. 41: $\frac{1}{3}$ *tal.* + 1 *art.* of wheat per 1 *ar.* of private sown (?) land, after deduction of the public taxes
- l. 88: $\frac{1}{6}$ *tal.* + $\frac{1}{3}$ *art.* of *kemia* per 1 *ar.* of dry reed land
- l. 99: $\frac{1}{2}$ *tal./ar.* of domain land sown with *chortos*
- l. 102: $\frac{1}{4}$ *tal./ar.* of *chersos*-land

Share-cropping rents (in ascending order):

- l. 73: $\frac{1}{4}$ part of the crop. for a plot of ca. 20 *ar.*
- l. 8: $\frac{1}{3}$ part of the crop of an unknown amount of *arourai*
- l. 93: $\frac{1}{3}$ of the crop
- l. 85: $\frac{1}{2}$ of the crop
- l. 99: $\frac{1}{2}$ of the crop harvested on domain land sown with wheat (12 *ar.*?)

The rent level in l. 29 appears to be excessively high, but there seems a special element involved; cf. the “instead of the ... of the *commodum*” clause. The reading of the number of *arourai* as the fraction $d' = 1/4$ is certain, but it cannot be excluded that the ancient scribe committed an error writing d' instead of the numeral ($\delta = 4$). In that case the rent becomes 1 *tal.* + $1/6$ *art.* of wheat for 1 *ar.* and this is perfectly acceptable;

(g) the name of the person who is actually working on this land, most probably as a local tenant (see ll. 8, 12-13, 38, 42, 102, 103); but see ll. 17, 21, 26, 30, 34, 86, and 101 for tenants whose names are not followed by a village name and who, consequently, may have been living in the metropolis of the Hermopolite nome. The precise situation is not preserved in ll. 68, 73, 83, 89. In some case the tenant is listed as “the heirs of N.N.” (see ll. 38, 68, 86); since this situation occurs both with a villager (l. 38) and with a possible inhabitant of Hermopolis (l. 86), one cannot make any further argument about the precise background of the person mentioned in l. 68.

Line Commentary

7 Given the structure of various better preserved entries in which an indication of a certain number of *arourai* is preceded by an indication of their situation in a particular *kleros* (see ll. 9-13, 18-21, 27-30, 31-34, 35-38-42), one expects $\omega\nu\omicron\varsigma$ here to be the ending of a Hermopolite *kleros*-name (see l. 36, Ἀριστωνός ; for names of Hermopolite *kleroi* in general, see M. Drew-Bear, *Le Nome Hermopolite* [Missoula 1979] 381-383), preceded most frequently (but not always, see l. 97) by $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\ \tau\omicron\upsilon$.

9 The term $\pi\rho\alpha\kappa\tau\omicron\rho\iota\alpha$ indicates a fiscal district, no doubt named after the most important village in it; here this is Sinalabe. For this village (in the Patemites Ano toparchy) and for that of Hakis (also mentioned in l. 13; to the southwest of modern Minia) see *P.Col.* 9. pp. 155 and 148; the term $\pi\rho\alpha\kappa\tau\omicron\rho\iota\alpha$ occurs also in ll. 18, 31 and 35, while it appears to be missing in l. 27; perhaps it may be restored in the lacuna in l. 62.

After $\acute{\omicron}\nu\omicron\mu\alpha(\tau\omicron\varsigma)$: follows the name of the owner of the plot of land:

ll. 9, 27: Philammon (lacking further information this man cannot be identified)

l. 14: $\text{Ἰσίδωρος ἱερωνίκης}$ (apparently not further attested)

l. 18: Θεωνίλλα

ll. 31, 35, 63: Εὐστόργιος or Εὐστόργιον ; see below, l. 31n.

l. 97: . . .] . $\xi\iota\upsilon\omicron\varsigma$ (gen.); see below, l. 97n.

χωρισίμων: for some time the meaning of this term was uncertain (cf. WB 2 s.v.), but it has now accepted (cf. Drew-Bear, *Le Nome Hermopolite*, 56, n.11, 251, n. 464) that H.I. Bell (“An Epoch in the Agrarian History of Egypt,” in *Recueil Champollion* [Paris 1922] 261-271) was right in interpreting it as “transferable from one village to another for fiscal reasons.”

10 κοί(της): the text mentions the following numbered *koitai*: the 1st (l. 19), the 5th (l.15), the 6th (ll. 28, 97) and the 34th (l. 10). For some reason the indication of a numbered κοίτη seems to be missing in ll. 31-34 (Βουσίρεως) and ll. 35ff. (Σινκερή). In these cases, the absence may be caused by the fact that the plots belonged to the last κοίτη mentioned already before (= the 6th, in l. 28).

For the *kleroi* Ἀνδρίσκου and Μολο[σ]σοῦ see Drew-Bear, *Le Nome Hermopolite*, 65, 173.

11 The sign in the margin before the beginning of this line looks like the sign for (ὕπερ) found in papyri from Byzantine Egypt; it seems to have been added by a second hand. An alternative approach may be to regard it as a kind of check mark.

14 The term ἱερωνίκης indicates a victor in sacred games, see *Pap.Agon.*, p. 26.

15 For the *kleroi* Σατύρου and Φιλοξένου, see Drew-Bear, *Le Nome Hermopolite*, 235, 317.

17 For the use of λεγόμενος for indicating an alias-name, see R. Calde-rini, “Ricerche sul doppio nome personale,” *Aegyptus* 21 (1941) 221-260, esp. 239-240, and *Aegyptus* 22 (1942) 3-45. In the present case, Γραμματεὺς (= “scribe”) is hardly a regular Greek personal name; rather, this word functions here as an alias-name. For this use, see J.M. Diethart, “Hinter Personennamen ‘versteckte’ Berufsbezeichnungen im byzantinischen Griechisch mit einem Exkurs über Beinamen nach Berufen in den Papyri,” *MBAH* 25.2 (2006) 195-236.

18 For the village Τιμώνθεως (to be located to the south of modern Minia), see *P.Col.* 9, p. 159.

For Θεωνίλλα as an inhabitant of Hermopolis, see *CPR* 8.47.14 (IV), perhaps also *PSI* 8.895.5 (III/IV).

19 For the *kleros* Ζευξιλάου, see Drew-Bear, *Le Nome Hermopolite*, 105. For the qualification of land as ε), see the discussion in *P.Herm.Landl.*, pp. 121-122.

The discussion given there may be supplemented by the following considerations:

(a) the *DDBDP* does not produce any case of a word combination *ιδι- + επηντλ-*, hence Wilcken's proposal (cf. *BL* 1:144) to resolve *ἐπ(ηντλημένης)* is unlikely;

(b) as to the alternative, *ιδι- + επαντλ-*, it can be observed that the adjective *ἐπαντλητός* occurs in the *DDBDP*, apart from *P.Flor.* 1.64, almost exclusively in documents from Ptolemaic Egypt: see *P.Cair.Zen.* 2.59176.230, *P.Lond.* 7.2164.v.Fr.1.2.49 (both: *ὁ πρὸς τῇ ἐπαντλητῇ*), *P.Rev.* col. 24.7, *O.Deiss.* 58.4, *O.Edfu* 1.1.4, *O.Bodl.* 2.1782.2, 5 (I BCE?), always without a preceding element *ιδι-*;

(c) the only attestation of the adjective said to come from Roman Egypt is in *O.Petr.* 1.306.8; this text, given its wording *ἰδίαν χέρσον ἐπαντ<λ>ήτω[ν]* within an incomplete context and the inherent contradiction between *χέρσον* and *ἐπαντ<λ>ήτω[ν]*, does not inspire confidence, and;

(d) on the other hand, it should be noticed that in *BGU* 14.2437.15, 21,22, and in 2438.34, 41 one finds an abbreviation of *ἐσπαρμένη* to *ἐ(σπ)αρ(μένη)* and in 2441.64 to *ἐσ(π)αρ(μένη)*.

Hence, there cannot be any objection against taking *ε)* as a form of *ἐ(σ)π(αρμένη)*.

20 Here the rent consists only of the payment of the regular land taxes.

21 For Olympiodorus son of Hyperechius, belonging to an important Hermopolite family, see *CPR* 8, pp. 69 and 71 sub 3.

22 For the meaning of the term (*χερσο*)*θρυίτις*, “land covered by rushes and (therefore) dry,” see M. Schnebel, *Die Landwirtschaft im hellenistischen Ägypten* (München 1925) 14; the compound is also found in *CPR* 17A.25.16, but cf. also l. 18, where two separate adjectives, *χέρσος* and *θρυίτις*, rather than the compound are used.

23 *τά]κτου* looks like the end of a *φόρου ἀποτάκτου* clause; for these, see ll. 11, 16, 20, 37, 41, and 99 and the listing of rent payments given above.

23-24 The wording *ἐ]γιαυτὸν παρ' ἐνιαυτὸν* [appears unattested elsewhere. Cf., however, *P.Flor.* 1.50.4.108: *ἐνιαυτῷ παρ' ἐνιαυτόν*. Its meaning seems to be “yearly;” cf. also l. 81.

25 Should one restore *φόρῳ] χορτικῷ*? This wording is attested in *CPR* 1.40.23 (Herakleop., 300 CE).

The first edition of the text presented the number of *drachmai* plainly as δ', but the resulting rent at 4 *dr.* is incredibly low. The photo is not 100% clear, but it seems possible to read a small virgule on top of the delta, i.e. 4000 *dr.*, as expected.

It was suggested in *ZPE* 29 (1978) 267 that ἐπὶ π[λέον ἢ ἔλαττον (cf. l. 71) should be restored in the lacuna, but on balance this idea does not seem felicitous. After all, this wording (= "approximately") makes sense in an indication of the size of a plot of land, but it does not seem applicable within a context indicating the amount of rent to be paid; in general, one does not pay approximate rents.

26 For a homonymous Σιλβανὸς κράτιστος (or Σιλβανὸς Κρατίστου?) see *P.Stras.* 7.691.2 (Hermop., IV) and *P.Amh.* 2.138.9 (Arsin., 326). It is difficult to decide whether one should prefer the one reading to the other.

27 For the village Βουνῶν Κλεοπάτρας, see Drew-Bear, *Le Nome Hermopolite*, 82-83; it belongs to the Peri Polin Kato toparchy.

28 For the *kleros* Ἀχιλλέως, see Drew-Bear, *Le Nome Hermopolite*, 78-79.

30 An Achilleus alias Herminos occurs in *P.Princ.* 2.38.5 (Hermop., 264), where he is a *kosmetes* of Hermopolis. Cf. also *P.Stras.* 8.798.5 (Hermop., ca. 300), Achilleus alias Herm().

The *DDBDP* offers numerous attestations of the spelling Κομόδου as a error of Κομ<μ>όδου; for the haplography, see Gignac, *Gram.* 1:157. Rather than taking this genitive here as another case of the personal name Commodus (most frequently found in regnal titulature involving the emperor Commodus, but for its use by private person cf., e.g., *PSI* 12.1332.29 and *Pap.Agon.* 3.19), it should be regarded as a transliteration of the Latin technical term "commodum" = gift, emolument, salary; for this term, see the attestations given by S. Daris, *Il lessico latino nel greco d'Egitto*² (Barcelona 1991) 59 (where the present text is not listed). The feminine article indicates that a feminine noun followed in the lacuna, but it is not self-evident which noun should be restored; perhaps a simple δόσεως would do.

31 For the village Βουσίρεως, see *P.Col.* 9, p. 148; it belongs to the Peri Polin Kato toparchy.

Εὐστοργίου: it is uncertain whether the genitive comes from a masculine name Εὐστόργιος or a feminine name Εὐστόργιον. The latter, attested frequently in the Abinnaeus archive, is not yet represented at Hermopolis, but

related names like Εὐστοργίς (*M.Chr.* 318; 295 CE) or Εὐστοργία (*SB* 8.9931.3; 330 CE) do occur there.

32 For the *kleros* Ἀριστίππου, see Drew-Bear, *Le Nome Hermopolite*, 71.

33-34 As the owner of this plot apparently cultivated this plot by him- or herself (cf. ἰδιοσπορουμένη), there is no indication of rent paid.

35 For the villages Σινκερή and Ἄρεως (the latter also in ll. 38, 42), see Drew-Bear, *Le Nome Hermopolite*, 254-56 and 69-71; for Ares, see also *P.Col.* 9, p. 147. Both villages appear to be situated in the southern part of the Patre Ano toparchy, near modern Etlidem.

36 For the *kleros* Ἀρίστωνος, see Drew-Bear, *Le Nome Hermopolite*, 72-73.

37 The same clause concerning payment of the rent after deduction of the public taxes is found in l. 41.

38 The first editor, here and in l. 68, resolved δι(ὰ) κληρ() into δι(ὰ) κλήρ(ου), but one should resolve consistently into the gen. plural δι(ὰ) κληρ(ονόμων); cf. l. 86.

For the personal name Λῶις, see *P.Lips.* 1.84.2.6; *SB* 14.12002.4; compare also the name Λῶι found in the Dakhleh Oasis (*O.Kellis* 226.7) and various compounds in Λωι- (see the *Onomasticon Oasiticum*, <http://www.papyrologie.leidenuniv.nl>)

39, 40 For the *kleroi* Σατυρίωνος and Μοσχίωνος, see Drew-Bear, *Le Nome Hermopolite*, 234 and 176.

44 For the χωρίον Τερίννα, see Drew-Bear, *Le Nome Hermopolite*, 280.

45 The *DDBDP* contains attestations of the word combination ἐλαιῶνος/ὀποβαλαμῶνος/συκῶνος/φοινικῶνος/δενδρικῆς/ἀμπέλου/καλάμου Ἑλληνικοῦ/πωμαρίου + φορίμου (ἀρ.); one of these combinations is expected here.

62 As in l. 27, the term πρακτορία may be missing here; for this term in general, see l. 9n.

62-68 If these lines are to be regarded as one single entry, only indications of the quality of the land and the size of the plot in ll. 64, 65 (cf. ll. 39, 40), and an indication of the precise rent for the *chortos* land are lacking, while we have the total amount of rent of the land sown with wheat (87 *artabai*). Line

68 may have contained an indication of the origin of the heirs of Εὐστέφιος, but in the end we do not know (cf. above p. 268).

63 See l. 31n.

64, 65 For the *kleroi* of Πρωταγόρας (also in l. 87) and Λεπτίνης, see Drew-Bear, *Le Nome Hermopolite*, 224 and 154.

66 For a similar division of the crops to be cultivated (in wheat and in *chortos*), see ll. 69-70n. and l. 99n.

68 For the name Εὐστέφιος within a Hermopolite context, see *P.Lips.* 1.26.7 (IV CE) and *P.Stras.* 8.798.4 (ca. 300 CE).

69-74 The entry is rather damaged, but apparently one is dealing with a plot of approx. 20 *ar.* (l. 71), partly cultivated in *osprea*, partly in *chortos* (ll. 69-70; for the wording, see ll. 99-100), while the rent is 1/4 of the total crop (l. 73) and the plot is to be cultivated by the heirs of a certain Eu- (l. 73, possibly the same person as in l. 68).

69 The start of this entry is unusual. The term λεγομένης may be compared with l. 17, λεγομένου; on analogy it may be supposed that here, too, a name in Τε- followed.

69-70 For a similar cultivation of *osprea* (= pulse) and *chortos* (= green fodder, grass, etc.), see *BGU* 1.308.5ff., *P.Lond.* 1.113(3).4, 11, 1.113(4).12, and *SB* 18.13885.13ff.); for the formula, see l. 66n. and 99n.

71-73 After the indication of the size of the plot of land (= ca. 20 *ar.*) an indication of the level of the rent is expected, e.g., something like φόρου ἀποτάκτου τῶν προ||δηλουμένων ἐπ[ὶ τὸ αὐτὸ | τὸ (τέταρτον)?

73 Is the tenant (= the heirs of Εὐ[] the same as mentioned in l. 68?

74 Does the element γεωργίου παρορίου still belong to an indication of the origin of the heirs of Εὐ[, i.e., restore ἀπὸ] at the end of l. 73? There is, however, some extra spacing between ll. 73 and 74, as if a new entry starts on the latter line. While Drew-Bear, *Le Nome Hermopolite*, 379, lists the names of a few γεώργια (for the meaning of the term, see *ibidem*, p. 42), she does not list the present γεωργιον, probably because she (probably correctly) takes παρορίου as an adjective meaning “adjacent” rather than as a name.

80 For the *kleroi* Ν<ε>ιλέως and Ἰσιδώρου, see Drew-Bear, *Le Nome Hermopolite*, 180 and 134.

82 Most probably φυ[.] τευ[. . .] contains a form of the verb φυτεύω or the noun φύτευσις but it is unclear what is meant precisely.

84 For the toponym τόπων Λιλήου, see Drew-Bear, *Le Nome Hermopolite*, 156; the suggestion to read Αιλίου (l. Αιλίου) here cannot stand; see already *ZPE* 29 (1978) 268, note to l. 84.

85 After a provision concerning the rent to be paid ἐφ' ἡμισείᾳ τῶν καρπῶν (i.e. 50% of the crop goes to the land owner, while the tenant keeps the other half) the following τὸ ἥμισυ seems redundant. Further details concerning the lease of this plot of land are conspicuously absent.

86 For heirs of a certain Moros in Hermopolis, see *SPP* 20.68.r.Fr.II.5.6 (III CE).

88 For the meaning of the term κέμιον as a kind of vegetable rather than a kind of reed, see J.F. Matthews, *The Journey of Theophanes: Travel, Business and Daily Life in the Roman East* (New Haven 2006) Appendix 4: "Kemia and Kemioraphanos" (pp. 233-235). Cf. also the compounds καμιοπώλης/κεμιοπώλης, discussed in *ZPE* 112 (1996) 161-162.

90-96a This much damaged entry appears to depart from the structure of other entries, but on the analogy of ll. 39-40 and 44-48 it may be assumed that one is dealing here with a complicated entry that lists various parcels of different land qualities situated in various (lost) *kleroi* and cultivated under different conditions. If this is correct, one should reckon in l. 93 with the loss of the name of the tenant before the indication of the rent to be paid (for the situation, see l. 8).

97-103 The listing of the parcels of οὐσιακῇ land in this entry is expected to run as follows: 10+ [2?] *ar.* of irrigated domain land (in l. 97) + [12?] *ar.* of dry domain land (in l. 98) = 24 *ar.* (in l. 99); half of this land, i.e. the irrigated domain land, is sown half with wheat and half with *chortos*. As both categories apparently pay each 3000 *dr./ar.* (see ll. 9-13 for the payment of money for renting sown [wheat?] land), the total yield of 12 *ar.* = 6 *tal.*; next to these 12 *ar.* come the 8 *ar.* of dry (domain) land in l. 102 and the 4 *ar.* of dry (domain) land in l. 103. It was noticed already in *ZPE* 29 (1978) 269, note to l. 102, that the amounts occurring at the ends of ll. 97 and 98 cannot be read as the expected ιβ.

97 For the *kleros* Πολιάνθου, see Drew-Bear, *Le Nome Hermopolite*, 218; *CPR* 6.30.2.27.

...] . ξίου: this ending should belong to the name of the owner; in terms of frequency most probably this is the genitive of Εὐδόξιος. Even so, names like Μονάξιος (*SB* 20.14669.221) or Εὐπράξιος (*P.IFAO* 2.27.v.5) are not to be excluded; in view of the space in the lacuna, shorter names like Πραξίας

(well attested), Ζεύξιος (*P.Oxy.* 22.2347.2) or Δέξιος (*P.Gen.* 2.116.38) seem less likely.

99 A similar division of the parcel into two parts for two different crops (here in wheat and in *chortos*) is possibly found in ll. 69-70, but there the phrase κατὰ τὸ ἥμισυ (as found also in ll. 66, 85) is not actually preserved.

101 The name Ἐλπίδιος occurs in Hermopolis in *P.Herm.* 18.14 (324 CE) as that of a *hypomnematographos*, i.e. a member of the city elite who owned most of the land in the region. Possibly we are dealing here with the same person.

102, 103 For the village Τανούπεως, see *P.Col.* 9, p. 149 s.n. Ἰβίων Τανούπεως; the location of the village is uncertain.

103 There is no indication of the rent to be paid for the 4 *arourai* recorded here; maybe they were rented out on the same condition as in the preceding line, i.e. at 1/4 *tal./ar.*?

105 Presumably, a new entry starts here; -ργίου may be taken as the ending of the name of an owner like Εὐστοργίου or perhaps a *kleros* name; the list of such names as compiled by Drew-Bear, *Le Nome Hermopolite*, 381-383, does not, however, yield a suitable candidate for complete restoration.

Review

Matthias Westerhoff, *Auferstehung und Jenseits im koptischen "Buch der Auferstehung Jesu Christi, unseres Herrn."* Orientalia Biblica et Christiana, Band 11. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1999. xv + 396 pages. ISBN 3-447-04090-4.¹

In this monograph (originating in a Halle dissertation of 1997) Westerhoff (= W.) presents the Coptic text of the *Liber Bartholomaei* with a new translation on facing pages and a detailed interpretation of its main features. The text is based on a careful study of the three manuscripts: A and B, both fragmentary, and C, which lacks a substantial part of the text. Both the text and the translation are presented synoptically, which facilitates comparison of the three versions in the original and in translation. The handwritten Coptic text imitates the script of manuscript C and is generally pleasant to read, although *eta* and *pi* could have been more distinctive. The translation, as far as I am able to judge, is generally sound.² The interpretative chapters following the text and translation contain a wealth of material elucidating the text in detail and overall. Unfortunately the detailed comments are not easy to locate when one is reading the text and stumbles on a problem.³ This could have been prevented by more frequent cross-references. In what follows I will use the numbering of the sections of the text introduced by W.

The *LB* consists of a series of narratives about Easter to underscore the truly cosmic consequences of the resurrection. First comes the passion of Christ (sections 1-6; only partially preserved; the first extant scene is the Last Supper,

¹ This review was originally commissioned for *Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica*, now defunct. I am glad to offer it to one of my predecessors as editor of *BASP*.

² The very first words preserved in manuscript C, *para kairos*, are translated on p. 61 as "zur rechten Zeit" (cf. p. 321). One expects rather "unexpectedly." On the same page "ging" has dropped out of the sentence "Der Tod aber herauf zum Grab des Erlösers." In the first column on p. 81 one "Lebendigen" belongs in the second column opposite.

³ A few examples. There is something amiss in the order of angels in Hymn 4 (section 49). An explanation for this is offered in note 171 on p. 259. Hymn 5 (section 50) contains a divine name, Abriath. This is explained in note 38 on p. 275. There are more *nomina barbara* in the text. Comments on them are made throughout the book, but there is no direct way to get from the text to the comment. The title of the *LB* (section 83) *precedes* the finale. A deft explanation for this (the parallel offered by the *Gospel of John*) is offered in note 23 on p. 203.

at which Christ brings a rooster back to life; the martyrdom of Ananias, who witnesses the crucifixion and is himself burned at the stake, is also included). Then the text continues with the descent of Christ into Hades to liberate Adam's race from Death (sections 7-26; Death has six sons, called *dekanoi* or *dynatoi* in manuscript A; the conversation between Christ and Death is extensively reported as is Christ's invective against Judas). The text proceeds to narrate the resurrection of Christ (sections 27-39; Christ's conversation with his mother Mary and her glorification take up a lot of space). There follows a series of heavenly visions of Bartholomew on Pharmouthi 15, shortly after Easter (sections 40-55; six out of eight hymns are preserved in this part, which is mainly concerned with the position of Adam in God's economy). Next Bartholomew reports back to the other apostles (sections 56-62; individual blessings for the apostles are listed). The text proceeds to narrate the epiphany of Christ in Galilee (sections 63-67) and a series of events relating to the apostle Thomas (sections 68-83; the resurrection of his son Siophanes and his own restoration from unbelief are reported; reminiscences from the apocryphal acts and an apocalypse describing the otherworldly journey of Siophanes in the first person are included). The text ends with a eucharist presided over by the apostle Peter (section 84), who is represented in the *LB* as the interpreter of Christ and the great bishop ("archbishop" in manuscript B is secondary).⁴

Although the general structure of the narrative depends on the gospels, especially the *Gospel* of John, and various features are found in apocryphal gospels, the *LB* displays certain unique features. Its combination of canonical with apocryphal materials on Hades and heaven is by no means unparalleled, but the overall result is highly original. The book purports to give more than is available in the standard, canonical accounts (which are here given in apparently deliberately abbreviated form) and integrates various strands of traditions, some of which appear to be very old. The result is a novel kind of book containing certain mystic doctrines, which are not supposed to be too widely divulged.⁵ Although the authority of the bishop (Peter) in matters of faith is fully recognized, this does not interfere with the claims of the visionary (Bartholomew). Whether this reflects conditions in Egypt during the Coptic renaissance (so W. on p. 221) may be doubted.

Most peculiar are the hymns in the visions of Bartholomew and the litanies in the other sections. The hymns have been separately discussed by W. in "Die Hymnen im koptischen 'Buch der Auferstehung unseres Herrn Jesus

⁴ On pp. 43-47 W. gives a detailed synopsis of the contents of the *LB*, which does not flag the remaining gaps. Note that on p. 67 the inserted title for section 11 should head p. 69.

⁵ In section 40 Bartholomew says the book should be kept out of the hands of heretics.

Christus' (Liber Bartholomaei)," in W. Beltz and J. Tubach (eds.), *Zeit und Geschichte in der koptischen Frömmigkeit bis zum 8. Jahrhundert* (Hallesche Beiträge zur Orientwissenschaft 26, Halle 1998) 97-117. A very interesting litany is contained in the section on the passion of Christ. Unfortunately, W. did not include this fragment in his edition. It was published by A. Zikri, "Un fragment copte inédit sur la vie du Christ," *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte* 36 (1936) 45-48, and identified as part of manuscript B by E. Lucchesi, "Feuillets coptes non identifiés du prétendu *Évangile de Barthélemy*," *Vigiliae Christianae* 51 (1997) 273-275, an article referred to by W.⁶ The fragment contains a list of predicates of the Jewish paschal lamb, each predicate being followed by "amen," the response of the community to the words of the liturgical leader.⁷ If this is an originally Jewish litany, it shows yet again how various traditions are incorporated into the *LB*. W. regards manuscript B as a representative of the most recent recension. It leaves out the text of most of the hymns. W. interprets this as a theological correction of the hymnic abundance of the *LB* in light of the later preference for the *Psalms* and biblical narratives in Coptic poetry. That the extraordinary hymns were preserved in manuscript C is probably related to its eccentricity: its text originates in Nubia, where traditions about Bartholomew were cherished. According to tradition Bartholomew had been an apostle to Nubia.

For the author of the *LB* the hymns were a piece of *alte Überlieferung*, which had to be preserved in a setting that would impose a novel interpretation on them. The hymns originate in a liturgical setting,⁸ but were not used in a real Easter liturgy by the time the *LB* was composed. W. does not regard the *LB* itself as a liturgical script, but as literature to be read in private or perhaps to be read out in a group. The liturgical language is fictional in the sense that it creates its own liturgical setting within the literary fiction. In manuscript A one musical annotation is indeed found at the end of section 47: "Because of a woman," but W. thinks this merely reflects the practice of assigning tunes to poetry in the later period. In this case the tune suggested itself because of the content of the text (the section mentions Adam's fall "because of his wife"). The hymns themselves are litanies, which allow no such musical adaptation. If W. is right, the hymns might preserve early Christian poetry about Christ, which

⁶ W. refers to the fragment, unpublished according to him, as Kairo, Ägyptisches Museum 8015¹², but it is really just 8015. Apparently W. did not check Lucchesi's note 12, which contains the reference to Zikri's publication. Lucchesi thought the *Liber Bartholomaei* might be no more than a simple sermon. W.'s interpretation would seem to preclude this.

⁷ For a parallel in apocryphal literature see the *Acta Iohannis* 94-96.

⁸ On pp. 223-224 W. suggests a Melitian source for some of the liturgical materials, but this seems doubtful.

was ousted in later centuries because of its potentially heretical connotations. The *LB* could also preserve an early Jewish paschal litany, as I have indicated above. As a parallel W. refers to the hymn on Christ at the end of Clement of Alexandria's *Paedagogus*, where Christ is also presented as the King, as in hymn 6 in the *LB* (formal parallels between Clement of Alexandria's hymn and the hymns in the *LB* are otherwise lacking).

Both here and in the above-mentioned article on the hymns in the *LB*, W. counts seven hymns, the text of one of which is lacking: manuscript C jumps from hymn 1 to 3. Originally, however, there must have been eight hymns, because the last one is numbered 8 (W. reads "eight" at the end of section 52, but translates "seven," both here and in the article on the hymns; Budge had translated it correctly). Hymn 3 (section 44) calls Christ the steward (*oikonomos*) of the Father. Hymn 4 is not a hymn about Christ, but a litany mentioning two sets of seven angels. This recalls the role assigned to various orders of angels in gnosticism (cf. the seven aeons in section 42, on which see pp. 260-262), but also generally their role in church liturgy (angels were supposed to be present during the eucharist, and this parallels their role in the heavenly liturgy). The instruments with which the angels are represented bear no relation to ecclesiastical practice in Egyptian churches (with the possible exception of the *koukm*), for which see now also R. Eichmann, *Koptische Lauten. Eine Musikarchäologische Untersuchung von sieben Langhalslauten des 3.-9. Jh. n. Chr. aus Ägypten* (DAIK Sonderschriften 27, Mainz 1994).

If the hymns are ancient, i.e. predate the move to the exclusive use of the *Psalms* and biblical narratives in Coptic poetry, when was the *LB* first composed? The two fragmentary manuscripts both seem to me a little older than manuscript C, which is regarded by W. as a representative of a recension closer to the original. To my mind W. establishes this beyond doubt. A simple look at the divergencies in the synoptic text bears this out: where there is variation rather than a simple error, manuscript C always contains something peculiar, e.g. in section 28 the detail that Iohanna (here Sousanna) the wife of Chouza did not sleep with her husband. The readings of manuscripts A and B can best be explained as attempts to normalize ("domesticate," cf. p. 226) the text. There was no need to preserve the text as it stood, because it was not Scripture, and changes were called for because the text was occasionally of doubtful orthodoxy (to say the least).

Although the *LB* contains much in the way of older materials, it was not itself composed until the Coptic renaissance of the eighth-ninth centuries. Here W. (p. 227) parts with Kaestli-Cherix, who had put the date of composition in the fifth-sixth centuries, when protests against apocryphal texts were loudest (cf., e.g., Shenute). The *LB* in any case does not belong to the apocry-

phal literature of the early church, but to a *Nachblüte*, which recycled much older materials. This is best illustrated by the fact that various traditions are here simply accumulated – e.g. the names of the nine (*sic*) women at the grave (cf. note 12 on pp. 200–201) – and by the fact that various genres are used to compose a novel kind of book.

In chapter 1 W. sketches the checkered history of the publication of the text. This is by no means a closed chapter, because more fragments have already been identified. In the listing of the fragments of manuscripts A and B on pp. 7–8 the reference to Kairo, Ägyptisches Museum 8015 should be moved two lines down. Both manuscripts derive from the White Monastery. Manuscript C derives from Edfu with a number of other codices,⁹ but the colophon, perhaps itself merely copied from the exemplar, refers specifically to Illarte, no doubt a place in Nubia.¹⁰ The script is also reminiscent of the narrow Coptic script current in Nubia in the ninth and tenth centuries, although it must be admitted that this kind of script was also occasionally used in the southern half of Upper Egypt, where contacts with Nubia were strongest. The other codices in the Edfu find do not show this kind of script. Manuscript C also uses word division.

W. also discusses the language of the text in chapter 1. He concludes that manuscript C represents a more original recension also from the point of view of grammar and lexicon and that its dialect would point to an area considerably to the south of the White Monastery (cf. also p. 225). A Greek original can nowhere be detected, but the Greek words are usually spelled correctly in manuscript C. The heavy use of supralinear strokes of two kinds in that manuscript might point to the use of the text in declamation. This is not to say that the text is a homily, but that its use might not have been restricted to private reading. The paratactic series of perfect I verb forms are interpreted by W. as an emphatic representation of the action (the *Heilsgeschehen*), whereas the series of circumstantial verb forms are interpreted as mainly descriptive (e.g. of the visions of Bartholomew in heaven). The descriptions are not picturesque, but merely suggestive: the juxtaposition of various descriptive elements does not add up to a complex picture, but mainly serves the need for ornamentation.¹¹ One should not expect a detailed picture of either Hades or heaven in the *LB*. W. calls the language of the *LB* as it most clearly shows itself in manuscript C an “ornamentally alienated language” (*ornamentale verfremdete Sprache*), a

⁹ W. distorts Crum’s information on the provenance of the codices in note 55 on p. 11. Crum merely reported hearsay information without subscribing to it. In footnote 58 it should be *Budge*, Bibl., not *Crum*, Bibl., one of the occasional mistakes in W.’s book.

¹⁰ See note 87 on p. 16. W. mostly follows Van Lantschoot for the text of the colophon. The daring supplement for the description of the codex as a “great and unalienable gift” is based on Van Lantschoot’s colophon 84.

¹¹ In note 151 on p. 37 W. establishes an interesting parallel with Coptic art.

deliberate vehicle for the transmission of ideas that would be difficult to express in a straightforward manner without running into trouble. The lists of strange names (e.g. those of angels) and the occasional use of *nomina barbara*, familiar from Coptic magical texts, add to the ornamental effect of the text.

In chapter 3 (chapter 2 contains the text and the translation) W. discusses the sources of the *LB* and the way in which the various materials are integrated into the main narrative sequences. W. also addresses the *Sitz im Leben*. Because the *LB* is a sort of monograph (p. 221), there does not have to have been a very definitive *Sitz im Leben*. There must have been a readership among intellectuals in Coptic monasteries in Upper Egypt and Nubia, but not a very well organized readership.

In chapter 4 W. discusses the vision of Hades in the *LB* and the vexed problem of ancient Egyptian “survivals.” In accordance with the ancient function of prisons Hades is not a prison “for life,” but a place of detention until judgement day. The second part of this chapter deals with heaven. It is represented as open to the experience of the senses: it can be seen (light), heard (voices, song and music) and even smelled.

Chapter 5 deals with the soteriological meaning of Easter. The *LB* underscores the truly cosmic consequences of the Resurrection by means of the “Harrowing of Hell.” W. interprets this as the guise *par excellence* by which eastern Christianity brought out the soteriological meaning of the Easter message. The “Harrowing of Hell” was not just a theological construct to account for the salvation of pre-Christian “saints,” but a graphic picture of the salvation of mankind *per se*. This chapter also contains a discussion of the way the *LB* pictures Christ in and out of his body. W. thinks he can pinpoint monophysite tendencies in the description of Christ.

In chapter 6 W. establishes the main theological purpose of the *LB*: the personal participation of the believer in the Resurrection. W. could have made more of what Thomas says (and how he says it) in section 75: “I do not believe that (Christ) would not show himself in his Resurrection *to me*” (this is incidentally followed by an otherwise unrecorded *agraphon*). W. (p. 202) acutely observes that the *LB* here fundamentally differs from the canonical account, which rather focuses on those who have not seen Christ. For the *LB* seeing is believing.

Chapter 7 deals with the eschatology of the *LB*, which differs from the ecclesiastical tradition. The *LB* focusses on Easter itself as “realized” eschatology. Individual eschatology is pictured with the aid of various motifs, some of which seem to be of Egyptian origin such as the preservation of the body (as an *Ersatz* for the resurrection of the body). The river of fire known from Egyptian eschatology turns out to be a harmless ditch in the otherworldly experience

of Siophanes. For the common metaphor for dying as landing in the “desired haven” W. could have referred to the classic account of C. Bonner, *Harvard Theological Review* 34 (1941) 49-67.

A few details caught my attention.

The names of some of the characters in the *LB* are peculiar. The employer of Bartholomew is a city magistrate called Hierokates, an otherwise unattested name (Hierokrates and the like also being rare).¹² The son of Thomas is called Siophanes, also unattested. It could be a variant of Theophanes, which would be very appropriate for a son of Thomas, but that seems too easy a name to be garbled in transmission.¹³ The gardener in the cemetery in sections 28-31 is called Philogenes, another rare name, which is garbled to Philoges in manuscript A (incidentally his son Simon was healed by Christ).

W. finds no parallel for the idea that the liberation of Adam from Hades is a return to his *arche*. Perhaps Ps.-Epiphanius, *Hom. in die Christi* resurrectionis (PG 43, 465B) is relevant here: ἀνέστη Χριστὸς καὶ τὸν Ἀδὰμ εἰς τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἀξίωμα τῆς ἀθανασίας κατέστησεν. Unfortunately, the origin of this homily is as obscure as that of the *LB*.

Another peculiar feature of the *LB* is the invective against Judas, whose wife is the wetnurse of the son of Joseph of Arimathaea. The quite extraordinary invective put in Christ's mouth in section 18 makes heavy use of *Psalms* 108. This goes much beyond what is found elsewhere (cf., e.g., Eusebius' commentary on the *Psalms*). Significantly, the invective in *Psalms* 108 is also cast in the form of a litany. This must have made it the more attractive to the author of the *LB*. The list of snakes tormenting Judas in Hades is a conveniently comprehensive catalogue of thirty deadly sins. Judas is removed from the “library” of the saints (the Book of Life) along with Cain and Herod.

The Jews to whom Judas betrayed Jesus are called “dogs” in the invective against Judas in manuscript C (manuscript A tones it down to “high priests”). In the Church Fathers (in their interpretation of the expression in *Psalms* 21, 17: “Many dogs have surrounded me”) the expression “dogs” is reserved for the Jewish leaders. The fragment of the *LB* edited by Zikri probably also goes into the details of the guilt of these Jews. The combination of the traditional

¹² On the occupational designation for Bartholomew in section 58, *komarites*, “vine-dresser,” and on *komarion*, “vineyard,” such as the one Bartholomew leases from Hierokates in section 58, see now also J. Diethart, “Zum Beitrag koptischer Texte der byzantinischen Zeit zur griechischen und lateinischen Lexikographie,” in W. Hörander, J. Koder, and M.A. Stassinopoulou (eds.), *Wiener Byzantinistik und Neogräzistik* (Wien 2004) 132-142 at 138-140.

¹³ W. offers the name Sophonias as a possible explanation for the name Siophanes in note 62 on p. 210. Both names contain the same consonants.

rejection of the Jews and the retention of perhaps genuine Jewish traditions is remarkable, but not unparalleled.

Very full indices¹⁴ conclude this remarkable publication. Its philological apparatus will provide the necessary help for years to come. Its detailed interpretations, though somewhat buried in the chapters following the text and translation, go far to elucidate most enigmas in the text. Its overall interpretation, though somewhat speculative, will stimulate further work on this eccentric and neglected work.

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¹⁴ Occasionally Coptic *f* is incorrectly written for Greek *phi*. *Nhoson* is not ἐν ὄσφ, but just ὄσον. Under ὑπομένειν a reference to manuscript B 118, 57 is lacking, and Jerusalem is also mentioned in manuscript C 36, 23. To the bibliography following the indices may now be added R.J. Bauckham, *The Fate of the Dead: Studies in Jewish and Christian Apocalypses* (NT Supplements 93, Leiden, 1998).

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